DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 447 544 CS 510 461

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (83rd, Phoenix, Arizona, August 9-12, 2000). Graduate Education Interest Group.
INSTITUTION	Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.
PUB DATE	2000-08-00
NOTE	133p.; For other sections of this proceedings, see CS 510 451-470.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Broadcast Industry; Cable Television; Comparative Analysis; Economic Factors; Foreign Countries; Global Approach; Higher Education; Internet; *Journalism Education; Journalism Research; Newspapers; Presidents of the United States; *Programming (Broadcast)
IDENTIFIERS	Malaysia; Reagan (Ronald); Television News; War on Drugs

ABSTRACT

The Graduate Education Interest Group section of the proceedings contains the following five papers: "The Press, President, and Presidential Popularity During Ronald Reagan's War on Drugs" (Hyo-Seong Lee); "Malaysia's Broadcasting Industry in Transition: Effect of New Competitions on Traditional Television Channels" (Tee-Tuan Foo); "The Transparency of Culture and Politics in Economic Discourse" (Jennie Rupertus); "Convergence of the Internet Websites by Newspaper, Broadcast, and Internet News Organizations" (Sang Hee Kweon); and "The Impact and Relationship of Policy and Competition on the Program Diversity in Cable TV" (Seung Kwan Ryu). (RS)

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The Press, President, and Presidential Popularity

During Ronald Reagan's War On Drugs

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Abstract

This study tested a path model of agenda-building examining the relationships among the press, president, and presidential popularity rating during the Reagan administration in the 1980s. This study found that as presidential emphasis on the drug issue increased, so did the press coverage of the drug issue. Also, as the press coverage of the drug issue increased, so did presidential emphasis about the drug issue.

The Press, President, and Presidential Popularity during Ronald Reagan's War On Drugs

I. Introduction

According to the 1985 survey of the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), 70.4 million Americans have used marijuana, cocaine, or other illicit drugs at least once during their lifetimes.[1] With one in eight Americans estimated to be users of illicit drugs in 1985, it was apparent that drug use was a significant phenomenon in society at that time. In particular, cocaine related deaths became frequent in the early 1980s, and the number of addicts accelerated when crack became available in 1985.[2]

The drug problem caught the attention of public officials during the Reagan administration in the 1980s. In 1982, National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) began to design the 'Just Say No' campaign, the objective of which was to present a drug-free life as a healthy norm for teenagers.[3] To counter increasing cocaine use among older teenagers and young adults, NIDA developed a multi-media program, 'Cocaine, The Big Lie,' which was implemented in two phases, the first in April 1986 and the second in spring 1988. Needham Harper Worldwide (NHW) produced 13 public service announcements for the first phase, which aired 1,500 to 2,500 times per month within 75 local television markets, according to the Broadcast Advertisers Report, Inc.[4]

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[1] National Institute on Drug Abuse, "Population Projections, based on the National Survey on Drug Abuse," (Washington DC: GPO, 1987).
[2] P. J. Shoemaker, W. Wanta, and D. Leggett, "Drug Coverage and Public Opinion, 1972-1986," In Pamela J. Shoemaker (ed.), Communication Campaigns about Drugs: Government, Media and the Public (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989), 67-80.
[3] Susan B. Lachter and Avraham Forman, "Drug Abuse in the United States," In Pamela J. Shoemaker (ed.), Communication Campaigns about Drugs: Government, Media and the Public (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989), 7-12.
[4] Susan B. Lachter and Avraham Forman, "Drug Abuse in the United States," In Pamela J. Shoemaker (ed.), Communication Campaigns about Drugs: Government, Media and the Public (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989), 7-12.

In particular, President Reagan announced that drug abuse was "one of the gravest problems facing us internally in the United States."[5] Secretary of State, George Shultz lamented that "indeed, in almost every American city, people face the drug problem in the streets and learn about it daily in the media."[6] With the recognition of the drug epidemic, the public, the members of the Congress, and the Administration all took up arms to renew America's war on drugs, culminating in the Anti-Drug Abuse Act being passed by the Congress and signed by the President Reagan in late October 1986.[7]

Along with the reality of drug problems and concerns from public officials of Reagan administration, the mass media dealt heavily with drug issues such as drug-caused tragedies, new illegal drugs, the social ramifications of a drug-dependent population,[8] the pleas for reform from celebrities, and the information campaigns of public health agencies. In the early 1980s, the drug issue accounted for about 1% of the total national coverage in the National Media Index of the Conference on Issues and Media, roughly equivalent to 10,000 inches of print coverage in major newspapers around the country or about 15 minutes of evening network news in a two-week period.[9] The increase in the drug coverage among the national media during Reagan

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[5] President, News Conference, "The President's News conference," Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States 1981: Ronald Reagan (Washington DC: GPO, 1982), 210.
[6] Secratery Shultz, Address, "The Campaign Against Drugs: The International Dimension," Current Policy No. 611 (Washington DC: DSBPA, 1984), 1.
[7] President, Remarks, "Remarks on the Anti-Drug Abuse.Act of 1986," Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States 1986: Ronald Reagan (Washington DC: GPO, 1987), 1447, 1452.
[8] Pamela J. Shoemaker, Wayne Wanta, and Dawn Wanta, In P. J. Shoemaker (ed.) "Drug Coverage and Public Opinion," Communication Campaigns About Drugs: Government, Media, and the Public (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1989), 67-80.
[9] Cited in John E. Merrian, "National Media Coverage of Drug Issues, 1983-1987," In Pamela J. Shoemaker (ed.), Communication Campaigns about Drugs: Government, Media and the Public (Hillside, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989), 21-29.

administration was accentuated in 1986 by the tragic death of Maryland basketball star Len Bias due to cocaine intoxication which occurred in the early summer of 1986.[10]

Drugs might represent a social problem that was dealt seriously by mass media, in terms of the amount of attention paid to the issue and the media awareness of what was happening in the 1980s. Some speculate the drug issue was driven by the media which lacked any objective evidence of an epidemic. Others speculate the drug issue relates to the concern and emphasis the president has given to the issue, as exemplified by Presidents Reagan's and Bush's wars on drugs.[11]

In this vein, this study investigates whether the press or president had an influence on each other directly or through the factor of presidential popularity in the 1980s. That is, this study examines the relationships among the press, president, and presidential popularity during President Ronald Reagan's War on Drugs through an agenda-building framework.

II. Literature Review

Early Studies of Agenda Setting

McCombs and Shaw hypothesized that the issues emphasized in the news media influence the issues the voters regard as important.[12] In other words, the media agenda determines, to some degree, the public agenda. Determining what to select for attention and what to ignore among a number of existing issues means determining the perspective you apply to view the political world as a whole. Media coverage gives salience cues to the members of the public showing them which issues are important. The public receives

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[10] Review & Outlook: An Athlete Dying Young (New York: Wall Street Journal, 1986), June 26. Drugs Cloud Len Bias Story (Omaha: Omaha World-Herald, 1986), June 21.
[11] Paul M. Barrett, "Though the Drug War isn't over, spotlight turns to other issues," (New York: Wall Street Journal, 1990) November 19.

these salience cues and ultimately believes that the issues receiving extensive coverage are more important than those issues receiving little coverage.[13]

The majority of early agenda setting researches focused on the influence of mass media on the public agenda, adopting a simple "mirror-image" hypothesis about media effects.[14] That is, research on the subject has generally tried to establish some overall match between the relative frequency of the news media's coverage of a set of issues, on the one hand, and the relative salience of the same set of issues among the public, on the other.[15] The agenda setting hypothesis in many studies has been generally supported through a wide range of studies.

The work of McCombs and Shaw[16] focused on the hypothesis that although the media may not tell the public what to think, they may influence what the public thinks about – that is, set the public agenda. The approach had its roots in the oldest concerns of scholars and politicians about the potential power of the press in controlling public opinion.[17] They investigated this notion of press power with a sample of Chapel Hill,

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[12] M. McCombs and D. Shaw, D. "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly 36 (1972), 176-187.

[13] M. McCombs and D. Shaw, D. "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly 36 (1972), 176-187.

[14] Most early agenda setting studies focused narrowly on election campaigns. McCombs and Shaw (1972) found that issues emphasized by the media in Chapel Hill, North Carolina during the 1968 presidential campaign were the same as those considered important by a sample of voters interviewed during the same period. McLeod, Becker, and Byrnes (1974) found that partial similarities in issue emphasis between registered voters in Madison, Wisconsin, and the local newspapers these voters read during the 1972 election campaign.

[15] Jack M. McLeod, Lee B. Becker, and James E. Byrnes, "Another Look at the Agenda-Setting Function of the Press," Communication Research 1 (April, 1974), 131-166. Maxwell E. McCombs and G. Stone, eds, Studies in Agenda-Setting (Syracuse: Newhouse Communication Research Center, Syracuse University, 1976). Donald L. Shaw and Maxwell E. McCombs, The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the press (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co, 1977).

[16] M. McCombs and D. Shaw, D. "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly 36 (1972), 176-187. The authors hypothesized that "the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues (p. 177)."

[17] H. D. Lasswell, "Propaganda technique in the world war (New York: Knopf, 1927). G. LeBon, "The Crowd (Dunwoody, GA: Norman S. Berg, 1968). W. Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1922).

North Carolina, voters during the 1968 presidential campaign. It was found that voters share the media's composite definition of what is important.

Jack McLeod[18] provided direct empirical evidence for the hypothesis in a study of the 1964 presidential campaign. His content analysis of two newspapers revealed sharp differences in media reports of two issues – federal spending policies and control of nuclear weapons. Readers exposed to the newspaper espousing nuclear control ranked that issue higher than the spending issue, while the reverse was found for the other paper.

On the other hand, researchers have found the media's agenda setting effect with the drug issue. Shoemaker, Wanta, and Leggett found that the more the media emphasized drugs, the more the public considered drugs as a problem. In particular, newspapers had a strong agenda setting influence as the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times exerted a greater influence on the public agenda than all three major television networks and all three major newsmagazines combined.[19] Gonzenbach found an interactive relationship between the press and the public on the drug issue between 1985 and 1990 with each influencing, and in turn being influenced by each other. He found that the press mirrored and had an immediate impact on the public agenda, but that the public agenda also filtered into the press agenda which, in turn, reinforced public opinion at a later time.[20]

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[18] J. McLeod, "Political Conflict and Information-Seeking," Paper presented to the American Psychological Association, Chicago, 1965.
[19] P. J. Shoemaker, W. Wanta, and D. Leggett, "Drug Coverage and Public Opinion, 1972-1986," In P. J. Shoemaker (ed.), Communication Campaigns about Drugs: Government, Media, and the Public (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989).
[20] W. J. Gonzenbach, "Time-Series Analysis of the Drug Issue, 1985-1990: The Press, the President and Public Opinion," International Journal of Public Opinion Research 4 (Summer 1992), 126-147.

From Agenda Setting to Agenda Building

Despite promising beginnings, the nearly quarter century of agenda setting research that has followed the McCombs and Shaw study has produced mixed results. The agenda-setting process does not always work. This "failure" has been variously attributed to such factors as media usage, contingent conditions affecting the audience and the actors, and the level of obtrusiveness of the issues involved.[21] Whatever the case, this ambiguity has led to the search for constructs that either complement or supplant the theory. It is highly doubtful given the growing complexities of contemporary political communication environments that any single medium or entity can solely serve as the agenda setter. Instead, the individual influence of any particular entity must participate as an agenda builder.[22]

In many instances the media manipulate the political scene by creating a climate for political action. This makes them major contributors to agenda building, the process whereby news stories influence how people perceive and evaluate issues and policies. Agenda building goes beyond agenda setting.[23] The media set the public agenda when news stories rivet attention on a problem and make it seem important to the public. Mass media build the public agenda when they create a political climate that determines the likely thrust of public opinions.

In what McCombs has called the "fourth phase" of agenda setting studies, researchers have been attempting to answer the question "Who sets the media's

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[21] D. A. Graber, Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide (New York: Longman, 1984). G. E. Lang and K. Lang, "Watergate: An Exploration of the Agenda Building Process," In G. C. Wilhoit and H. deBok (eds.), Mass Communications Review Yearbook (2-16) (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1981).

[22] M. Robers, "Political Advertising's Influence on News, the Public, and Their Behavior," in Communication and Democracy, M. McCombs, D. L. Shaw, and D. Weaver, ed.(Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997).

agenda."[24] These studies moved agenda setting into an earlier point in time in the public opinion process by examining potential sources of the news media agenda.

Some researchers have examined the influence of public officials and other actors on the media's agenda. Gandy examined the way in which the media interact with other actors to create the items that eventually appear on the media agenda.[25] According to Gandy, those actors include public officials and other professional public relations practitioners. They make up an integral component of the newsgathering process, since they are the initial source of much of what appears in the press. As a matter of fact, the new phase of agenda setting research is imbued with opportunities to apply the agenda setting process' central concept, the transfer of salience, to all forms of corporate, governmental, and non-governmental organization's public relations efforts that attempt to shape public opinion, media coverage, and public policies in the society.

That is, government officials can set the media's agenda.[26] Iyengar and Kinder found that on certain issues, the president influences the public's level of concern.[27] They, for example, found that when the president delivered national speeches dealing with energy, public concern with the issue of energy rose by more than 4%. On other issues, however, the president was less successful in influencing public concern and had to rely on the news media to put forth his issue priorities before the public. Yet, relatively

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[23] D. G. Graber, Mass Media and American Politics (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1993).
[24] M. E. McCombs, "Explorers and Surveyors: Expanding Strategies for Agenda-Setting Research," Journalism Quarterly 69 (1992), 813-824.
[24] Wayne Wanta, Mary Ann Stephenson, Judy VanSlyke Turk and Maxwell E. McCombs, "How President's State of Union Talk Influenced News Media Agendas" Journalism Quarterly (Summer, 1989), 537-541.
[25] O. H. Gandy, Beyond Agenda Setting: Information Subsidies and Public Policy (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing, 1982).
[26] T. Atwater and F. Fico, "Source Reliance and Use in Reporting State Government: A Study of Print and Broadcast Practices," Newspaper Research Journal, 8 (1986), 53-61.
[27] S. Iyengar and D. R. Kinder, News That Matters (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

few studies have considered whether government officials can directly affect the public's agenda via mediated communication.

Recently, several studies have examined media, public and policy agenda setting.[28] For example, there have been studies on how U.S. presidents influence agendas of the media and citizens.[29] However, the researchers who have examined the president-media relationships have found some contradictory results. President Nixon apparently influenced subsequent press coverage through his State of the Union address while President Carter appears to have been influenced by previous press coverage.

The contradictory findings of these studies generally acknowledge the existence of a variety of factors that influence the relationship between the press and the public. In this vein, when Lang and Lang proposed that traditional agenda setting research be expanded to include the influence of political actors, they assumed that a reciprocal agenda building relationship in which a third variable is added to form a three-way relationship. That is, the press, public, and public officials would influence one another and, in turn, be influenced by one another.[30]

One possible variable which could play an important role in the agenda building process is the presidential popularity rating.[31] Wanta found that presidential popularity appears to play a key role between the president and public even though the popularity ratings had little influence on the relationship between the press and president. As a

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[28] E. M. Rogers, J. W. Dearing, and D. Bregman, "The Anatomy of Agenda Setting Research," Journal of Communication 43 (1993), 68-83. D. L. Protess and M. McCombs, eds. Agenda Setting: Reading on Media, Public Opinion, and Policy Making (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1991).

[29] W. Wanta, M. A. Stephenson, J. V. Turk, and M. E. McCombs, "How President's State of Uniion Talk Influenced News Media Agenda," Journalism Quarterly 66 (1989), 537-541.

[30] Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, The Battle for Public Opinion: The President, the Press and the Polls During Watergate (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 58-59.

[31] Wayne Wanta, "Presidential Approval Ratings as a Variable in the Agenda-Building," Journalism Quarterly 68 (Winter, 1991), 672-679.

matter of fact, presidential approval ratings have become an increasingly examined facet of public opinion. The frequency of approval ratings polls has made them "a fact of American political life."[32]

On the other hand, some researchers have examined the relationship among the press, president, and public on the issue of drug abuse using the agenda building framework during Nixon administration's War on Drugs. Johnson and Wanta[33] employed a path analysis model to find linear relationships with drug issues. They suggested that: first, drug arrests rose in the United States, next, the media increased coverage of the drug issue, then, the public learned of the importance of drug as an issue, and finally, the president reacted to public concern. In addition, Sharp[34] found that the Nixon's drug war exhibited a pattern that suggests the mobilization model of agenda setting, which is initiated by actors within government who then evoke popular interest and concern in order to build support for their initiative.

The agenda building framework, which usually forms a three-way relationship, could provide a useful tool in this study of examining the relationship among the press, president and presidential popularity.

Research Questions

This study raises following research questions.

RQ1: As press coverage of drug issue increases, does presidential popularity rating rise, which in turn increases subsequent presidential emphasis of drug issue?

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[32] Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Comments and Observations," In A Cantril (ed.), Polling the Issues (Washington: Seven Locks Press, 1980), 46-52.
[33] T. J. Johnson and W. Wanta, "Influence Dealers: A Path Analysis Model of Agenda Building during Richard Nixson's War on Drugs," J&MC Quarterly 73 (1996), 181-194.
[34] E. B. Sharp, "Agenda-Setting and Policy Results: Lessons from Three Drug Policy Episodes," Policy Studies Journal 20 (1992), 538-551.

RQ2: As press coverage of drug issue increases, does presidential emphasis of drug issue rise?

RQ3: As presidential emphasis of drug issue increases, does presidential popularity rating rise, which in turn increases subsequent press coverage of drug issue?

RQ4: As presidential emphasis of drug issue increases, does press coverage of drug issue rise?

III. Method

The research design employed to measure the reciprocal influences among the press, president, and presidential popularity rating was based on Wanta and associates.[35] This study includes measures of press coverage of drug issues before and after the measures of presidential popularity rating. This study also includes measures of presidential emphasis on drug issues before and after measures of presidential popularity rating of Ronald Reagan. These measures possibly allow the author look at the relationships among the press coverage of drug issues, presidential emphasis on drug issues, and presidential popularity rating.

Important Variables

Drugs Drugs refer to drug use, drug abuse and addiction to illegal drugs as well as drug abuse of legal drugs including alcohol, cigarettes and over-the-counter medications. A story about a murder which mentions that a person used drugs would be a drug story. Furthermore, one in which the focus is a person was murdered during a drug deal would be a drug story. Thus, a story about the Food and Drug Administration approving a new

[35] Wayne Wanta, Mary Ann Stephenson, Judy VanSlyke Turk and Maxwell E. McCombs, "How President's State of Union Talk Influenced News Media Agendas," Journalism Quarterly 66 (1989), 537. W. Wanta, "Presidential Approval Ratings as a Variable in the Agenda Building," Journalism Quarterly 68 (1991), 672-679.

cancer drug would not be a drug story, but one about people using a cancer drug to "get high" would be.

Presidential Popularity Rating To evaluate the Presidential popularity rating, the Gallup Polls of presidential job performance conducted during two Reagan administrations were employed. Results of four polls a year were used in this study. The time periods examined in this study were determined by following the dates during which the Gallup polls were conducted asking people their attitude toward President Reagan. The polls asked respondents "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? The percentage of respondents who said they approved of the President's job formed the popularity measure.

Press Coverage of Drug Issue The amount of the press coverage of drug issue was measured by counting all news stories on the drug issues appeared on the front pages of four of the leading newspapers in the United States-the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, and the Chicago Tribune-for 28 days before and after the periods of the Gallup Poll of the presidential popularity rating. Intercoder agreement rate was 98.3% for counting the number of drug stories from the four newspapers.

Presidential Emphasis on Drug Issue To determine the amount of emphasis that President Reagan devoted to drug issues, copies of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents were consulted. Content analysis of the Presidential Documents identified the number of drug speeches and the number of statement lines prior to and subsequent periods of each presidential popularity rating poll during 1981 to 1988 periods. Since the Presidential Documents are uniform in size and column width, the number of lines devoted to the drug issue should be an accurate measure of presidential

emphasis on the drug issue. It was considered a line if it extends more than half way across the column. Intercoder agreement rate was 96.1% for counting the amount of presidential speeches during the periods.

Path Analysis

The relationships among the variables were then investigated using a path analysis. The path analysis appears to be a useful tool for mass communication researches.[36] In particular, path analysis is a statistical tool to use in examining patterns of causation among a set of variables.[37] Because the agenda building model proposed here implies causality, using a causal modeling test such as path analysis is appropriate.

Path analysis examines the predictability of dependent variables based on knowledge of independent variables. The analysis allows for two tests. First, the path coefficients determine if the paths from one variables to another are statistically significant. In other words, path coefficients test the direction of influence from one variable to another. Statistically significant coefficients suggest that the independent variable has a causal relationship with the dependent variable. Also, path coefficients determine the degree of influence that each of the independent variables has on the dependent variable. In other words, the path coefficients allow for the comparison of influence between the different independent variables. Large coefficients show that one independent variable has a stronger effect on the dependent variable than a second variable that produced a smaller coefficient.

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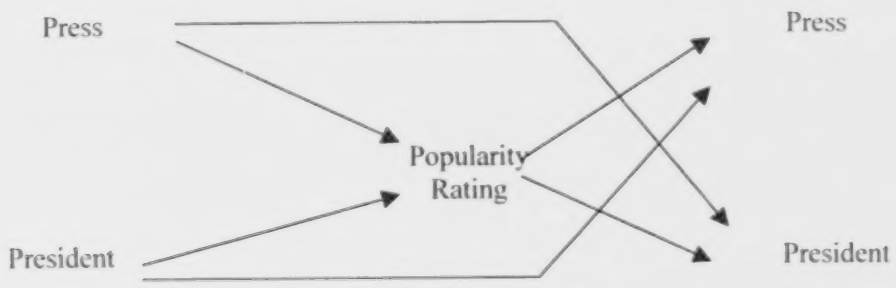
[36] Wayne Wanta and Tien-Tsung Lee, "Agenda-Setting and Priming: A Comparision of Two Theoretical Models," Paper presented to the Mass Communication Division at the annual conference of the International Communication Association, Montreal, 1997.

[37] Elazar J. Pedhazur, Multiple Regression in Behavioral Research: Explanation and Prediction, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982).

If agenda building is a cycle, as Lang and Lang[38] argue, then the three variables (press, president, and popularity rating) should interact with one another. Path coefficients determine if one variable in the model can predict subsequent variables. Figure 1 shows the path analysis model examined in this study. Thus, the agenda building path model predicts six possibilities in this study as implied in the research question section. First, press coverage of drug issue will lead to presidential popularity rating. Second, presidential popularity rating will lead to presidential emphasis on drug issue. Third, press coverage of drug issue will directly lead to presidential emphasis on drug issue. Fourth, presidential emphasis on drug issue will lead to presidential popularity rating. Fifth, presidential popularity rating will lead to press coverage of drug issue. Sixth, presidential emphasis on drug issue will directly lead to press coverage of drug issue.

Figure 1. Path Model of Press, President and Popularity Rating



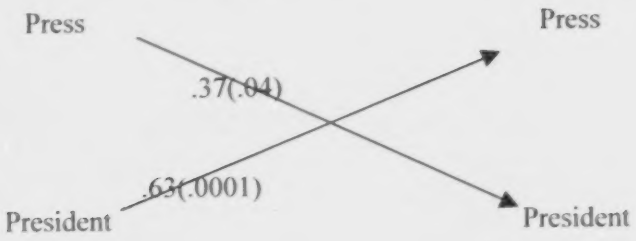
[38] G. E.Lang and K. Lang, The Battle for Public Opinion: The President, the Press and the Polls During Watergate (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) 58-59.

IV. Results

The path analysis coefficients which are equivalent to betas in regression analysis are shown in Figure 2. Two of six paths show significant coefficients. First of all, the path from pre-poll presidential emphasis on drug issue (president) to post-poll press coverage of drug issue (press) was strongly significant (beta=.63, p=.0001). In other words, as presidential emphasis on the drug issue increased, so did press coverage of the drug issue. However, path coefficients were not significant in the paths from presidential emphasis on drug issue to presidential popularity rating and from presidential popularity rating to press coverage of drug issue. That is, the increased presidential emphasis about drug issue did not have any significant influence on the presidential popularity rating among the public. Also, the popularity rating did not affect the subsequent press coverage of the drug issue.

The path from pre-poll press coverage of drug issue to post-poll presidential emphasis on drug issue was also statistically significant (beta=.37, p=.04). In other words, as press coverage of drug issue increased, so did presidential emphasis about the issue. However, path coefficients were not significant in the paths from press coverage of drug issue to presidential popularity rating and from presidential popularity rating to presidential emphasis on drug issue. That is, increased press coverage about the drug issues did not affect on the presidential popularity rating among the public. Also, the popularity rating did not affect the presidential attention to the drug issue.

Figure 2. Path Analysis Results



V. Discussion

This study tested a causal model of agenda-building, examining the relationships among the press, president, and presidential popularity rating through drug issue during the Reagan administration in the 1980s. The results suggest that as President Reagan increased emphasis about drug issue, the press increased its coverage dealing with drug issue. Also, as the press coverage about drug issue increased, President Reagan increased his emphasis on drug issue.

However, the press and president did not affect and were not affected by the presidential popularity rating. The results suggest that, in considering the president's job performance, the pubic did not pick up any salience cues from the press coverage of drug issues and presidential emphasis on drug issue. Probably, this is due to the relative absence of popular attention to the issue in the early years of the Reagan administration (1981-1984).[39]

The results of this study suggests that, on the issue of drug, President Reagan had a significant agenda building influence on the press. That is, President Reagan might direct the press attention toward the drug issues through increasing the amount of

[39] E. B. Sharp, "Agenda-Setting and Policy Results: Lessons from Three Drug Policy Episodes," Policy Studies Journal 20 (1992), 538-551.

emphasis he gave drug issues in his public statements. In other words, the press's agenda related to drug issue was influenced by presidential agenda dealing with drug issue. However, the press was not forced unilaterally to pay attention to the president, because the press also was a source of President's attention dealing with drug issue during Reagan administration. The press and president interacted each other dealing with the drug agenda.

The findings of this study are partly consistent but partly inconsistent with other earlier studies dealing with drug issue. Undoubtedly, other variables may have affected the press-president, popularity rating-press, and popularity rating-president relationships. Future studies should include other variables which may have affected the relationships. Also, future studies should consider employing different settings. As in other issues, the development of drug issue is shaped by the ideological predilections of different administrations, electoral considerations, and historical situations ranging from the occurrence of unexpected events that help to focus public concern (such as the cocaine-related death of basketball star Len Bias in 1986) to budget constraints to the competition from other agenda items.

Malaysia's broadcasting industry in transition: Effect of new competitions on traditional television channels

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Submitted to Graduate Education Interest Group
(Guido H. Stempel III paper competition) of the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication,
Phoenix, Arizona, August 9-12, 2000.

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Abstract

Between July 1995 and December 1996, three new competitors—Metrovision, a private television station; Mega TV, a cable television; and ASTRO, a satellite television— entered the Malaysian television scene. This study seeks to answer the question how would the emergence of these new competition change (1) the total airtime, (2) the language of broadcast, (3) and types of program during the peak hour slots of the three traditional television channels: RTM 1, 2 and TV 3. The findings show that the new competition caused these traditional channels to (1) increase their total airtime (2) increase Malay and Chinese programs and decrease English programs during peak hour slots.

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Introduction

In the mid-1990s, after years of having only three television channels, RTM 1, RTM2 and TV3, the Malaysian television industry faced a dramatic change. From 1995 to 1997, three new players entered the Malaysian television scene. The introduction of Metrovision in July 1995, the second private television channel in Malaysia since the launch of TV3 in 1984, opened a new chapter in the country's broadcasting history. Shortly after the launch of Metrovision, two other players were ushered in. The first cable television operator in the country, Mega TV was introduced in August 1995. Mega TV initially offered five 24-hour international channels—CNN International News, the Cartoon Network, ESPN, Discovery Channel, and Home Box Office (HBO). These were aimed at providing programs that would serve the 3.2 million population viewers in the Klang Valley. In late 1996, All Asian Television and Radio Company network (or ASTRO), the first digital satellite broadcast service was introduced to the Malaysian population. The network provided 22 television channels and eight radio stations for its subscribers nationwide.

With this drastic change in the television broadcasting scene of Malaysia within an eighteen-month time span, one should ask: how would the three national television channels, RTM1, RTM2 and TV3, respond to such development and reflect these accordingly in their programming strategy? This study seeks to answer this question by analyzing the three national television channels' programming schedules. By comparing these channels' program schedules, a year before July 1995 and a year after the end of 1996, the period where Metrovision, Mega TV and ASTRO were introduced, this study

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seeks to understand the impact that new competitors, such as cable and satellite television, have on traditional television broadcasters.

Background on the Malaysian broadcasting industry

Television was introduced to Malaysia in the 1960s. The first television network, Talivishen Malaysia, was inaugurated by then Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman on December 23, 1963. In 1969, a second channel was added to serve the nation's viewers. According to Nawiyah, today, these two state-run television channels, commonly known as RTM 1 and RTM 2[1], serve slightly different functions. While RTM 1 "is committed to promoting national unity, security and development,"[2] RTM 2 "has been given a more entertainment-oriented role."[3] From 1963 to 1984, RTM 1 and 2 dominated the Malaysian broadcasting scene. In 1983, however, a privately owned television channel, TV 3, was granted a license to operate alongside the two channels. This provided an alternative for the Malaysian viewers.

To understand the relationship between the Malaysian government and the mass media, one must begin by looking at the history of this multiracial society. As Malaysian population is mainly comprised of three ethnic groups—Malay (58%), Chinese (27%) and Indian (8%)[4]—the tensions among these communities, in particular between the Chinese and Malay, have been high since Malaysia's independence in August 31, 1957. On 13 May 1969, due to the outcome of a national general election, a communal riot eventually erupted, which left two hundred dead. As the media were not decisively used

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[1]Radio Television Malaysia.
[2] Zainur Sulaiman and Nawiyah Che'Lab, "Media Monitors in Malaysia." In *Media Monitors in Asia*. ed. Asian Media Information and Communication Center (Singapore: AMIC, 1996), 45.
[3] Ibid.
[4]This statistic is based on information provided in *Country profiles: Malaysia*. Edited by Anura Goonasekera and Duncan Holaday. *Asian communication handbook 1998*. Singapore: Asian Media Information and Communication center 1998.

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during the crisis and "in the absence of credible and complete accounts of events, wild rumors circulated, greatly worsening the situation," hence "corrective measures were imposed and government policy on developing a 'Malaysian identity and culture' led to reorganizations in broadcast services following the 1969 clashes."[5] In 1970, then Minister of Information Hamzah bin Abu Samah formulated a code, which later evolved into the five objectives of Radio Television Malaysia (RTM). In these objectives RTM is:

1. To explain in depth and with the widest possible coverage, policies and programs of the government in order to ensure maximum understanding by the people;
2. To stimulate public interest and opinion in order to achieve changes in line with the requirements of government;
3. To foster national unity in our multi-racial society through the extensive use of Bahasa Malaysia [the national language of Malaysia];
4. To assist in promoting civic consciousness and in fostering the development of Malaysian arts and culture; and
5. To provide suitable elements of education, general information and entertainment. (Ministry of Information, 1980)

McDaniel has pointed out that "of the five goals, the most important has been promotion of national unification and use of the national language."[6] Furthermore he points out that the Malaysian government's broadcasting efforts to foster unification can be seen in virtually every program. Of all the concerns about the unification of Malaysians —whether they are Malay, Chinese or Indian—the most significant policy is the emphasis on Bahasa Malaysia as the national language.

[5] Drew O. McDaniel, *Broadcasting in the Malay World*. (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1994), 84.
[6] Ibid., 85.

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Related Studies:

Language and Television program in a plural society

To promote Bahasa Malaysia as a national language, the Malaysian government expected its electronic media to emphasize the use of Bahasa Malaysia through its programs from 1969 to 1989. During this period, pressure groups constantly required English programs for RTM to be dubbed into Bahasa Malaysia in order to honor the national language.[7] In 1989, when Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad began to stress the importance of English as a second language, English programs, which are imported mainly from the West were allowed to be presented the original language[8] in RTM. Other then Malay and English, RTM and TV3's languages of broadcast also include Chinese and Tamil,[9] which targeted the minority population.

The language of broadcast is an important element in understanding the Malaysian broadcasting scene. In his analysis of the controversies over media imperialism in the modern age, Straubhaar (1991) found that languages and the source of the products play an important part in television programming.[10] He argues that in general, the audience prefer electronic products produced by their home country and when that cannot be filled, they look for material that are relatively close to their own culture. For this reason, in the early 1990s, soon after his takeover of Star TV, "Murdoch decided that the company should 'go local': offer programs that are tailored to local tastes

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[7] Ibid., 87.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Zainur Sulaiman and Nawiyah Che'Lab, "Media Monitors in Malaysia." In *Media Monitors in Asia*. ed. Asian Media Information and Communication Center (Singapore: AMIC, 1996), 45.
[10] Straubhaar, Joseph D. (1991) Beyond Media Imperialism: Assymetrical Interdependence and Cultural Proximity. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 8. 39-59.

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and values."[11] Very often localization is related to the language that the people in the region commonly use. In the case of Malaysia, it would be Bahasa Malaysia (or Malay), Tamil, and Chinese. On the other hand English although it is seen as a second language for most Malaysians is regarded more as a language for conducting business rather than being culturally related. As the new competitors—Metrovision, Mega TV and ASTRO—came into the Malaysian television scene, more programs in different languages were offered and competed for the audience traditionally held by RTM 1, 2 and TV 3. How the traditional channels restructured their language of broadcasting during peak hour slots (7 to 11pm) to counter this challenge is a question this study seek to answer.

Studies on media in a competitive environment

Another subject that this study is interested in looking into is how the television industry respond to an increasingly competitive environment while at the same time catering to the demands of the government. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) presented a comprehensive model indicating the hierarchical relationship among different levels of forces in a media environment. At the extramedia level, two important players are the government and advertisers. While the former influences the media through laws, regulations, licenses, and taxes, the latter flexes its muscle by providing financial revenue to the stations.

In an earlier model, McQuail (1994) pointed out four types of social forces that could pressure a media organization: (1) Social and political pressure, which includes legal/political control and other social institutions. (2) Economic pressures such as

[11] G. Wang, "Protecting the local cultural industry: A Regulatory Myth in the Global Age." In *TV without borders: Asia speaks out*. ed. Anura Goonasekera & Paul S. N. Lee. AMIC (Singapore: AMIC, 1998), 264.

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competitors, news/information agencies, advertisers, owners and union, (3) Events plus constant information and culture supply, and (4) Distribution channels, audience interest/demand.

In the case of broadcasting, both these models posit that on the one hand, the broadcasters follow government regulations closely while on the other hand, they have to compete against each other for the advertisers' dollars. For public service broadcasters in a Third World country such as Malaysia that have in the recent years embraced the concept of privatization (or corporatization in Malaysia context), the struggle between the two forces could be extremely difficult. Hence, the programming strategies that the broadcasters employ to gain market share become interesting to study.

In a content analysis of three decades (1962-1991) of Korean television networks' program during prime time, Joo-Ho Lee and Sug-Min Youn (1995) found that in Less Developed Countries (LDC), strong competition has the effect of decreasing programming diversity. Hultén and Brants (1992), who studied the issue of commercialization and competition in the Western Europe media scene, have identified two important competitive tactics that public service broadcasters use to gain market share: (1) composition of program schedules, especially during the peak hours, and (2) increase of airtime. In studying Malaysia's television industry in the early 1990s, McDaniel (1994) confirms Hultén and Brants' understanding of the matter. He pointed out:

> [A] significant factor which has shaped the TV program schedule has been the anticipated restructuring of RTM [Radio Television Malaysia]as a public corporation. To prepare for a life separate from government, the organization is trying to balance its expenditures with its income. In a climate of cost cutting and

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> commercialization, programs are required to develop their advertising potential. This has also led to schedules which place the most popular programs in periods when viewership peaks…(p. 114).

While these studies have identified the effects a competitive environment has on the media, none of these authors have looked into the matter of program types during peak hours. It is therefore the objective of this study to look into the types of programs used by Malaysian broadcasters at a time of stiff competition.

Research Questions

The main purpose of this study is to understand the impact that an increasingly competitive environment has on the three traditional Malaysian television channels, namely RTM 1, RTM 2 and TV 3. The main purpose of this study is to determine how the three traditional channels respond to the new competition in terms of their television programming. The following are the specific research questions this study seeks to answer:

RQ1: Did the total airtime of RTM 1, 2 and TV 3 increase after the new competitors entered the Malaysian broadcasting scene?

RQ2: Did RTM 1, 2 and TV 3 increase programs that targeted at particular language groups of viewers for the peak hour slots (7 to 11pm slots)?

RQ3: Did RTM 1, 2 and TV 3 decrease types of programs for the peak hour slots due to the new competition?

Methodology

Programming schedules for RTM 1, 2, and TV 3, were analyzed to understand the impact that the increasingly competitive environment had on these channels. RTM 1 and 2 were selected because these two state owned television channels, which main purpose is to serve for the public interest, could inform the study on how Malaysian public broadcasters respond to the competition. TV 3 was selected because this privately owned

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channel, which was also RTM's main competitor before the arrival of new competition, could provide an additional dimension in understanding the interaction between private and public broadcasters in Malaysia.

The unit of analysis is the television program schedule. Based on Riffe, Lacy and Fico's method[12] for television sampling, a random selection of two weekdays a month is the most efficient way to pull a sample. This study randomly selected two days per month for a period of one year for the before period (from July 1994 to June 1995) and the after period (from January to December 1997). The programming schedules were then printed from a Malaysian major English newspaper—The *New Straits Times*.

For each program schedule, the channel's total airtime for the day, the languages of broadcast and the types of programs for peak hour slots were coded (see appendix A). The evening hours from 7 to 11pm were selected for this study because these are the hours that generally attract the most audience in Malaysia.

A member of RTM who is familiar with Malaysia television programming was consulted to identify the programs' types and language of broadcasting (see appendix B) for all three channels.

Results and Discussion

The data of this study show that the emergence of new competitors did have an impact on RTM 1, 2 and TV 3 programming strategy. Four tables were used to present the findings. Table 1 compares the total airtime of the three traditional channels before and after the new competitors emerged. Table 2 compares the languages of broadcasts for RTM 1, 2 and TV 3 during peak hour slots before and after the new competitors entered

[12] Lacy Riffe, and Fico, *Analyzing Media Message: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*. Mahwah, (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998), 97.

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the Malaysian market. Table 3 compares the types of programs in the peak hour slots before and after Malaysia's broadcasting scene became more competitive. Finally, Table 4 compares the types of programs that dominate RTM 1, 2 and TV 3's peak hour slots before and after the new competitors emerged.

RQ1: Total Airtime and Competition.

The total airtime of the three traditional television channels—RTM 1, 2 and TV 3—before and after the new competitors entered the Malaysian market were coded to see if there is an impact in this regard. The Data in Table 1 shows that there was an increase of total airtime for all three traditional channels after the end of 1996 and the chi-square goodness-of-fit test demonstrated significant differences in these findings. RTM 1 has a 5% increase from 26,649 hours to 27910 hours ($X^2 = 29.14$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$). RTM 2 on the other hand has 58% increase from 16,070 to 25,425 hours ($X^2 = 2109$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$). TV 3 has a 13% increase from 27190 to 30,695 hours ($X^2 = 212.2$, df=1, $P \leq 0.01$).

Table 1

Total Airtime for RTM 1, RTM 2 and TV 3
before and after
the New Channels entered the Malaysia Market, 1 July, 95.

	RTM 1			RTM 2			TV 3		
	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95) N=24		After (January to December, 97) N=24	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95) N=24		After (January to December, 97) N=24	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95) N=24		After (January to December, 97) N=24
Airtime	26,649		27,910	16,070		25,425	27,190		30,695
% increase			5%			58%			13%
	X^2=29.14	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=2109	Df=1	P≤.001	X^2=212.2	df=1	p≤.001

The percentage of increase apparently is closely related to the total airtime that a television channel has before the new competitors entered the market. Comparing the three channels, the study found that RTM 2 has the least airtime before the competitors

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entered the market. Such situation allowed RTM 2 to have more room to increase its airtime in order to stay competitive. Although RTM 2 has the largest percentage of increase due to the competition, its total hours of airtime remain the least compared to the other two channels. TV 3, on the other hand, had only a 13% increase in total airtime, but it still remained as the channel with the most hours of airtime (before: 27,190 and after: 30,695). This statistics show that TV 3, a privately owned station, is apparently more aggressive in using airtime as a way to attract viewers than the state run channels even before the environment became increasingly competitive. It is important to note that RTM 1 and RTM 2 are two channels under the same broadcasting organization. Such a setup gives the organization an advantage in competing against the new competitors as well as TV 3.

RQ2: Languages of Broadcast and Competition.

The chi-square goodness-of-fit test was also used to see if there was a significant difference for programs that targeted particular language groups of viewers for peak hour slots before and after the change in the broadcasting environment. The data in three out of five categories—Malay, Chinese and English—indicates a significant level of difference. All three channels increased their Malay programs for the peak hour slots between 7 and 11pm. TV 3 has the most increase, from 31% (before: 1784 hours) to 40% (after: 2280 hours), in this category ($X^2 = 60.54$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$). While RTM 1 has the second highest increase in this category (5.5%), an increase from 92% (5299 hours) to 97.5% (5,616hours) ($X^2 = 9.21$, df=1, $P \leq 0.01$), RTM 2 has only a 3.5% increase. Its Malay programs increased from 488 to 713 hours ($X^2 = 42.15$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$).

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Table 2
Languages of broadcasts for RTM 1, RTM 2 and TV 3
during peak hour (from 7pm to 11pm)
before and after
the new channels entered the Malaysia Market, 1 July, 1995.

	RTM 1			RTM 2			TV 3		
	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95) N=24		After (January to December, 97) N=24	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95) N=24		After (January to December, 97) N=24	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95) N=24		After (January to December, 97) N=24
Malay	5,299		5,616	488		713	1,784		2,280
% in Peak Hrs	92%		97.5%	8.5%		12%	31%		40%
	X^2=9.21	df=1	p≤.01	X^2=42.15	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=60.54	df=1	P≤.001
English	359		84	4322		3840	2546		990
% in Peak Hrs	6%		1.5%	75%		67%	44%		17%
	X^2=170.7	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=28.46	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=648.7	df=1	P≤.001
Chinese	0		0	950		1,149	1,430		2,280
% in Peak Hrs				16.5%		20%	25%		40%
				X^2=18.87	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=194.7	df=1	p≤.001
Tamil	0		0	0		0	0		0
% in Peak Hrs									
Mixed	102		60	0		58	0		210
% in Peak Hrs	2%		1%			1%			3%
	X^2=10.89	df=1	P≤.001						

English, the language which the Malaysian government has encouraged its people to pick up as the second language since the 1960s, became less prevalent in the peak hour slots after the new competition entered the scene. Of the three channels, TV 3 has the most dramatic drop in this category. Its English programs dropped from 2546 hours (44%) to 990 hours (17%) (X^2 = 648.7, df=1, P≤ 0.001) in peak hour slots before and after the new competitors entered the scene. As for the state owned channels, RTM 2 dropped 7% from 4,322 hours (75%) to 3,840 hours (67%)(X^2 = 28.46, df=1, P≤ 0.001) and RTM 1 English programs dropped from 359 hours (6%) to 84 hours (1.5%) (X^2 = 170.7, df=1, P≤ 0.001).

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The Chinese programs during peak hours increased in two channels—RTM 2 and TV 3—with a significant level of difference. By the way, it is important to point out at this point that, since its inauguration RTM 1 has been mainly serving the Malay and English speaking community. Therefore it comes as no surprise that no Chinese or Tamil programs appeared in the peak hour slots for this channel in any of the samples selected for the study. TV 3 increased the most in the Chinese program category. Its Chinese programming increased from 1430 hours (25%) to 2280 hours (40%) ($X^2 = 170.7$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$). RTM 2, on the hand, increased its Chinese programs from 950 hours (16.5%) to 1149 hours (20%) ($X^2 = 18.87$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$).

The most interesting data in Table 2 however is the Tamil program category. In all three channels regardless of whether the time frame was before or after the new competitors came into the Malaysia market, Tamil programs did not exist in the 7pm to 11pm slots. Such statistic shows that all three channels were not interested in serving the Indian population, which occupied only 8% of the total Malaysian population, a market that is apparently too small for both state run and private own channels.

Mixed language programs appeared to go towards different directions for different channels. While RTM 1 has decreased from 102 to 60 hours ($X^2 = 10.89$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$), RTM 2 and TV 3 increased this category of programs. RTM 2 increased from none to 58 hours and TV 3 increased from none to 210 hours. However, the statistic tool (the chi-square goodness-of-fit test) that this study used is unable to establish the level of significance.

In this category, the study found that all three channels in general moved towards a similar direction. While Malay and Chinese programs increased, English programs

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decreased for all three channels. As Malaysia's population consist of 60% Malay and 28% Chinese, this statistic apparently supports Straubhaar's (1991) notion that languages and the source of the products play an important part in television programming. On the other hand, the complementary function that each of these channels performs in terms of serving the different language communities is also worth mentioning. With more than 90% of its programs in Malay in its peak hour slots, it is obvious that RTM 1 is mainly targeting at the Malay population. RTM 2, on the other hand, is primarily aiming at the English speaking community (75% before and 67% after) with the Chinese speaking community second (16.5% before and 20% after). The privately owned television channel, TV 3, apparently tried to encompass as many viewers as possible in their peak hour slots programming—31 % before and 40% after were Malay programs, 25% before and 40% after were Chinese programs, 44% before and 17% after were English programs. Such findings indicate that while RTM seeks to compete for a larger market share, its obligation as a public service broadcaster prompts it to allocate a substantial amount of hours in the 7 to 11pm slots to support the Malaysian government's effort to promote English as the second language. TV 3 on the other hand did not have such a constrain, therefore it was able to decrease English and increase Chinese programs in the peak hour slots dramatically.

RQ3: Diversities and competition.

The third research question is concerned with understanding if competition caused television channels to concentrate in broadcasting certain types of programs during peak hour slots. Compared to the first two questions, the answer to the third question is a much more sophisticated one. This is because unlike the previous findings, most of the

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subcategories in Table 3 did not show the same trend. Only four out of twelve subcategories— Musical/variety, News, Movie and Magazine—show the same trend after the competition became stiff (see Table 3).

The subcategory of Musical/Variety was the only type of program that increased after the new competitors entered the market. RTM 1 increased from 3% (162 hours) to 15% (857 hours) ($X^2 = 474$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$), RTM 2 increased from 1.5% (90 hours) to 3% (178 hours) ($X^2 = 28.9$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$) and TV 3 increased from 5% (276 hours) to 10% (570 hours)($X^2 = 102.2$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$). The chi-square goodness-of-fit test shows significant level of difference in these data. The number of programs in three other subcategories have also dropped in all three channels. News programs dropped in all three channels during peak hours. Before the new competitors entered the scene, 28% (1,628 hours) of RTM 2 program was news, this dropped significantly to 17% (962 hours)($X^2 = 171.3$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$) after the competition became stiff. RTM 1 and TV 3 also showed the same trend. RTM 1 news programs dropped from 29.3% (1,690 hours) to 25% (1,450 hours) ($X^2 = 18.34$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$). TV 3 news program dropped 3%, from 27% (1,550 hours) to 24% (1,380 hours) ($X^2 = 9.42$, df=1, $P \leq 0.01$). Movies were another type of program that suffered due to the competition. Movie programs in RTM 2 had a 25% drop. It dropped from 39% (2,217 hours) to only 14% (760 hours) ($X^2 = 713$, df=1, $P \leq 0.01$). Movie programs in RTM 1 dropped from 12% (695 hours) to zero percent after the new competitors entered the market. However, due to the constraint of the chi-square goodness-of-fit test, this study is unable to show the significant level of difference in this data. Movie programs in TV 3 also dropped, however, there is no significant difference.

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Table 3

Types of Programs for RTM 1, RTM 2 and TV 3 during peak hour (from 7pm to 11pm) before and after the New Channels entered the Malaysia Market, 1 July, 1995.

	RTM 1			RTM 2			TV 3		
	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95)		After (January to December, 97)	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95)		After (January to December, 97)	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95)		After (January to December, 97)
	N=24		N=24	N=24		N=24	N=24		N=24
Musical/ Variety	162		857	90		178	276		570
% in Peak Hrs	3%		15%	1.5%		3%	5%		10%
	X^2=474	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=28.9	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=102.2	df=1	P≤.001
News	1,690		1,450	1,628		962	1,550		1,380
% in Peak Hrs	29.3%		25%	28%		17%	27%		24%
	X^2=18.34	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=171.3	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=9.42	df=1	P≤.01
Movie	695		0	2,217		760	1,432		1,350
% in Peak Hrs	12%			39%		14%	25%		23.6%
				X^2=713	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=2.42	df=1	N. S.
Magazine	110		49	150		120	58		0
% in Peak Hrs	2%		1%	3%		2%	1%		
	X^2=23.4	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=3.33	df=1	N. S.			
Forum/Discussion	210		270	0		208	0		0
% in Peak Hrs	4%		5%			3.7%			
	X^2=7.5	df=1	P≤.01						
Public Service	201		336	30		90	0		0
% in Peak Hrs	3.4%		6%	0.5%		1.5%			
	X^2=33.94	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=30	df=1	P≤.001			
Children	414		542	0		0	0		0
% in Peak Hrs	7.3%		9%						
	X^2=17.14	df=1	P≤.001						
Game Show	0		304	540		150	0		0
% in Peak Hrs			5%	9%		3%			
				X^2=220.4	df=1	P≤.001			
TV Drama	1,753		1,720	890		2,724	1,904		1,560
% in Peak Hrs	30%		30%	15.5%		47%	33%		27%
	X^2=.31	df=1	N. S.	X^2=930.7	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=34.16	df=1	p≤.001
Sports	310		60	90		216	0		120
% in Peak Hrs	5.4%		1%	1.5%		3%			2%
	X^2=168.9	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=51.88	df=1	P≤.001			
Sit-com	180		172	125		302	540		420
% in Peak Hrs	3%		3%	2%		5%	9%		7.2%
	X^2=.18	df=1	N. S.	X^2=73.37	df=1	P≤.001	X^2=15	df=1	P≤.001
Information	35		0	0		50	0		360
% in Peak Hrs	0.6%					0.8%			6.2%

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The third subcategory that shows the same trend of decline in all three channels is the Magazine program. However, using the chi-square goodness-of-fit test only the data for RTM 1 shows significant level of difference. The Magazine program in RTM 1 dropped from 2% (110 hours) to 1% (49 hours) ($X^2 = 23.4$, df=1, $P \leq 0.01$).

Other subcategories in Table 3 do not show the same trend in all three channels, however, the data shows that two types of programs—Public service and Forum/Discussion—appear to be associated closely with state-run channels than the private-own television channel. Both types of programs increased in the state-run channels: RTM 1 and 2. For RTM 1, Forum/Discussion programs increased from 4% (210 hours) to 5% (270 hours) ($X^2 = 7.5$, df=1, $P \leq 0.01$). RTM 2 increased from zero percent to 3.7% (208 hours), however, the chi-square goodness-of-fit test was not able to determine the level of significant difference as one of the data is zero. TV 3 on the other hand did not have any Forum/Discussion program during the peak hour slots before and after the new competitors emerged. Public service programs such as prayer reminders also seem to be closely associated with RTM 1 and 2. RTM 1's Public Service increased from 3.4% (201 hours) to 6% (270 hours) ($X^2 = 33.94$, df=1, $P \leq 0.01$) and RTM 2 increased from 0.5% (30 hours) to 1.5% (90 hours) ($X^2 = 30$, df=1, $P \leq 0.001$). TV 3 again did not have any Public Service program during the peak hour slots before and after the change occurred.

Children's program is another subcategory that is worth mentioning. Only RTM 1 carried children's programs during the peak hour slots and the channel increased this type of program from 7.3% (414 hours) before to 9% (542 hours)($X^2 = 17.14$, df=1, $P \leq$

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0.001) after the new competitors emerged. RTM 2 and TV 3 did not have any children's programs before or after the change of the broadcasting scene in Malaysia.

Table 4
Ranking of program types for RTM 1, RTM 2 and TV 3
during peak hours (from 7pm to 11pm)
before and after
the new channels entered the Malaysia market, 1 July, 1995.

	RTM 1		RTM 2		TV 3	
	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95)	After (January to December, 97)	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95)	After (January to December, 97)	Before (July 1, 94 to June 30, 95)	After (January to December, 97)
	TV Drama	TV Drama	Movie	TV Drama	TV Drama	TV Drama
% upon peak hrs	30%	30%	39%	47%	33%	27%
Accumulative %	30%	30%	39%	47%	33%	27%
	News	News	News	News	News	News
% upon peak hrs	29.3%	25%	28%	17%	27%	24%
Accumulative %	59.3%	55%	67%	64%	60%	51%
	Movie	Musical	TV Drama	Movie	Movie	Movie
% upon peak hrs	12%	15%	15.5%	14%	25%	23.6%
Accumulative %	71.3%	70%	82.5%	78%	85%	74.6%
	Children	Children	Game	Sit-com	Sit-com	Musical
% upon peak hrs	7.3%	9%	9%	5%	9%	10%
Accumulative %	78.6%	79%	91.5%	83%	94%	84.6%
	Sports	Public	Magazine	Forum	Musical	Sit-com
% upon peak hrs	5.4%	6%	3%	3.7%	5%	7.2%
Accumulative %	84%	85%	94.5%	86.7%	99%	91.8%
	Forum	Game	Sit-com	Sports	Magazine	Info.
% upon peak hrs	4%	5%	2%	3%	1%	6.2%
Accumulative %	88%	90%	96.5%	89.7%	100%	98%
	Public	Forum	Musical	Musical	Children	Sports
% upon peak hrs	3.4%	5%	1.5%	3%	–	2%
Accumulative %	91.4%	95%	98%	92.7%		100%
	Sit-com	Sit-com	Sports	Game	Sports	Children
% upon peak hrs	3%	3%	1.5%	3%	–	–
Accumulative %	94.4%	98%	99.5%	95.7%		
	Musical	Sport	Public	Magazine	Forum	Forum
% upon peak hrs	3%	1%	0.5%	2%	–	–
Accumulative %	97.4%	99%	100%	97.7%		
	Magazine	Magazine	Children	Public	Public	Public
% upon peak hrs	2%	1%	–	1.5%		–
Accumulative %	99.4%	100%		99.2%		
	Info	Movie	Forum	Info	Info	Magazine
% upon peak hrs	0.6%	–	–	0.8%	–	–
Accumulative %	100%			100%		
	Game	Info	Info	Children	Game	Game
% upon peak hrs	–	–	–	–	–	–

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To better understand the consequences of competition on the three traditional channels in Malaysia, Table 4 was formulated to see if the most popular types of programs have changed due to the emergence of the new competitors. Table 4 shows that before the new competitors entered the Malaysia market, the most popular type of program during peak hours for RTM 1 (30%) and TV 3 (33%) was TV Drama. As for RTM 2, the most popular type of program was Movie (39%). After the change of the Malaysian broadcasting scene, the most popular type of program during peak hour slots for all three channels was TV Drama (RTM1: 30%; RTM 2: 47%; TV 3: 27%). The second most popular program during peak hour slots was News program for all three channels before and after the stated period. The third most popular program during peak hour slots, however, was not as uniform. For RTM 1, before and after the stated period was Movie (12%) and Musical/variety (15%). For RTM 2, before and after the stated period was TV Drama (15.5%) and Movie (14%). For TV 3, before and after the stated period was Movie (before 25% and after 23.6%). It is important to note that the top three most popular types of program combined make up for more then 70% of all programs during the peaks hour slots before and after the stated periods for all three channels. This shows that the most popular type of programs—TV Drama, News, Movie, and Musical/Variety—dominated the three channels' peak hour slots regardless of the period there were situated. This indicates that before the new competitors entered the Malaysia market, the competitions among the three traditional channels already prompted the broadcasters to use limited types of program for peak hour slots. Table 4's data apparently supported Joo-Ho Lee and Sug-Min Youn's notion that strong competition has the effect of decreasing programming diversity. However, the competition that affected

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the Malaysian broadcasting scene happened long before the new competitors entered the market.

Another observation that can be made in Table 4 is that the privately owned channel TV 3 has less diversity than the state-run channels during the peak hour slots. Before the stated period, RTM 1 had eleven and RTM 2 has nine types of program in its peak hour slots, TV 3 on the other hand had only six types of programs. After the stated period, RTM 1 had ten and RTM 2 had eleven but TV 3 had only seven types of programs during the peak hour slots. This observation shows that the privately owned channel was more inclined to invest on limited types of programs, which tend to be more entertainment oriented such as TV Drama, Movie, Sit-com and Musical/variety, than the state owned channels. However, whether such a programming strategy would result in it having more market share than the other channels or not is a topic that needs further study.

Conclusions and further studies

This study shows that the emergence of new competitors—Metrovision, Mega TV and ASTRO—did have an impact on the total airtime and languages of broadcast in peak hour slots for the three traditional channels—RTM 1, 2 and TV3. On the other hand, the impact that the new competitors had on the traditional channels' choice of program types was not as conclusive. Although certain types of program such as TV Drama, News, Musical/variety, and Movie did increase or decrease to a certain degree due to the introduction of the new competitors, this did not change the programming structure which is still dominated by three types of programs: TV Drama, News and Movie.

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Another observation that could be made in this study is that in terms of language of broadcast during the peak hour slots, we found that the Indian population in Malaysia was not targeted by the three traditional channels at all during this time slot. This finding supported the claim made by Kaarthigesu's study (1998) where he pointed out that only 55.5% of the Malaysian Indian respondents in his survey said that they watched television more than two hours per day and "the low percentage can be assumed to be due to the small number of Indian programs on Malaysian TV."[13]

The difference between state owned (RTM 1 and 2) and privately owned channels (TV 3) is another point worth mentioning. RTM's position as the state-owned television station does have an effect on the way it schedules peak hour programs. As the nation's public service broadcaster, it has the obligation to provide programs—such as Forum/Discussion and Public Service—that serve the public interest. As a result, this might cripple its ability to compete against TV 3 or the new competitors. On the other hand, TV 3 as a privately owned channel seems to has more room to maneuver in this regard hence it has an advantage over the state owned channels in competing against the new competitors.

As this study only concentrated on Total Airtime, language of broadcast and types of programs during peak hours, further studies need to be conducted to better understand the impact that the emergence of new competitors have on the three channels. Firstly, an analysis of the commercials that appeared in these channels before and after the stated period could lead researchers into further understanding the impact of competition. Secondly, a study on the correlation between types of program and viewership is also

[13] R. Karthigesu, "Transborder Television in Malaysia." In *TV without borders: Asia speaks out*. ed. Anura Goonasekera & Paul S. N. Lee. AMIC (Singapore: AMIC, 1998), 52.

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needed to better understand the rationale behind these programming decisions and the differences between state owned and private channel's programming strategies.

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THE TRANSPARENCY OF CULTURE AND POLITICS IN ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

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Paper submitted to the Guido H. Stempel III paper competition, Graduate Education Interest Group of The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication for the August 2000 conference, Phoenix, Arizona

The Transparency of Culture and Politics in Economic Discourse

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In today's world, with its unprecedented expansion and interconnection of commercial markets, it is increasingly difficult to contest that economic structures influence our social realities. Likewise, it is equally problematic to discuss economics without also referencing issues of culture and politics. This referencing can be explicitly stated, or else implicitly invoked. However, despite these assertions, the latter manner more accurately describes representations of economic discourse in an overwhelming proportion of today's popular media publications. In these cases, it is often difficult to recognize the presence of cultural and political values, for they become subtly masked as common sense. This seems to suggest the necessity of deconstructing economic discourse if we hope to better understand our social realities.

Although a highly nuanced topic, the media regularly frame 'globalization' with regard to economic issues. Representations in *The Wall Street Journal*, for example, exemplify this point most explicitly through statements such as: "By 'globalization,' people mean not only trade but also foreign direct investment," (October 27, 1995). Therefore, I have chosen to utilize globalization as a site for the interrogation of economic discourse. I am not suggesting that popular representations of globalization fail to reference culture and politics. Rather, my intent is to demonstrate how culture and politics can become so enmeshed within our understanding of economics that their presence is rendered transparent.

Marjorie Ferguson's "The Mythology About Globalization" has greatly inspired this project. She states:

> the topic of globalization provides a conceptual entry point to an evolving world order and a concept of evaluating 'a particular series of developments concerning *the concrete structuration of the world as a whole* (Robertson, 1990: 20) ... our incorporation into a one-world, global society is contingent on changing value orientations (1992, p. 70).

Subsequently, this essay will draw a connection between globalization, ideology, and the structuring of our realities. It will champion the utility of semiology, as an approach to unmask the values and beliefs layered in notions of 'globalization.' It will demonstrate how media representations and globalization mythology have contributed to the naturalization of 'sensible economics' as value-free by incorporating an analysis of globalization discourse from *The Wall Street Journal*. This essay will emphasize the significance of linguistic codes. It will also designate critical consciousness as key to recognizing our potential to shape the future. To begin though, let me further contextualize the genesis of this project and then sketch a brief overview of how globalization, as an economic construct, has been examined in the past.

This project has been fundamentally driven by a desire to expose the false representations of 'globalization' as an inevitable stage in the 'natural' evolution of economic life. Therefore, it

is highly informed by Roland Barthes' concept of "myth [as] a type of speech chosen by history ...[not able to] evolve from the 'nature' of things," (1980, p. 110). My primary concern in conceptualizing this project was to illustrate how current discourse and popular representations fail to reveal the political nature of globalization as a business strategy. My plan was to analyze globalization discourse as a sign system, making a requisite call for the inclusion of semiotic analysis as a way to approach the topic and thereby demonstrate its hidden agenda.

At the outset of my analysis, I found the opposite of what I intended. Although my plan to examine constructions of discourse has endured, the following report emerged from this initial finding: globalization was explicitly represented as a business strategy in a variety of popular media publications. My investigation of theoretical approaches that frame the study of globalization also revealed that far from distinguishing between the spheres of culture and economics, researchers have increasingly focused on their convergence. And additionally, far from discrediting the influence of culture, even the staunchest proponents of economic structuration incorporated elements of cultural representation into their arguments. At this point, I turn my attention to some of those approaches.

Globalization: From Cultural Imperialism to Cultural Studies

The investigation of economic structuration and the study of globalization can be usefully charted along a continuum of theoretical and methodological approaches. Cultural Imperialism is customarily categorized as a radical, leftist perspective that presumes the non-existence of human agency as a force to resist dominant (generally, on a global scale) values, attitudes, customs and politics. According to John Tomlinson, "much of the writing on cultural imperialism assigns a more central role to economic practices. Often the implication is that these are what are really at stake, and that cultural factors are instrumental in maintaining political-economic dominance," (1991, p. 3).

Tomlinson draws a solid connection between economic practices and society's cultural sphere. He also acknowledges the difficulty of defining 'cultural imperialism,' referring to the 'broad range of issues' its discourse invokes. Therefore, Tomlinson problematizes distinguishing culture from politics and economics. Through discursive deconstruction, he further relates the notion of imperialism to globalization by proposing that notions of cultural imperialism emerged not so much as an explanation of, but rather, as a reaction to the powerful efforts of dominant nations to impose an increasingly globalized culture on the weaker nations of the world.

Herbert Schiller has often been associated with theories of cultural imperialism. However, in the early 1990's, he attempted to revise his 1960's cultural domination thesis to better account for changing historical contexts. Although he concedes that the reality of cultural domination has passed, he is quick to qualify that domination continues today in the form of a 'total culture package' directed by the authority and influence of transnational corporations.

Schiller's essay, "Not Yet the Post-Imperialist Era," is, in part, a response to critics who claim that America's dominant position in the new global context is diminished. "A new hope for overcoming the deepening economic and social disparities around the world is seen in what is called the trend to globalization," (Schiller, 1991, p. 19). Globalization is changing the face of

domination. Power is now, according to Schiller, concentrated at an institutional (rather than a national) level. "The actual sources of what is being called globalization are not to be found in the newly achieved harmony of interests in the international arena ... the infrastructure of what is hopefully seen as the first scaffolding of universalism is supplied by the transnational corporate business order," (Schiller, 1991, p. 22).

Schiller develops his argument by referring to Joseph Nye's concept of soft power: "[quoting Nye] 'Soft power—the ability to co-opt rather than command—rests on intangible resources: culture, ideology, the ability to use international institutions to determine the framework of debate.' ... This is cultural imperialism with a semantic twist," (Schiller, 1991, p. 18). Soft power suggests a more hegemonic type of control. This new domination relies on cultural discourse to set a global agenda.

Herman and McChesney also emphasize the power of transnational corporations and the ascension of a more pervasive global capitalism, preferencing a political economy perspective in their book, The Global Media. They demonstrate the historical trend of American dominance, at the global level, "to organize a new world order serviceable to its political and economic interests," (Herman and McChesney, 1997, p. 17) which includes support of open markets, currency conversion, the reduction of trade barriers, and 'open-door' policies. They state:

> In the 1980s a wave of global 'liberalization' gathered momentum ... Tariffs and national barriers to foreign investment and trade also came under sharp attack as impediments to economic growth and efficiency. The new economic, political, and ideological environment of the 1980s and 1990s has greatly stimulated TNC cross-border expansion and has more closely integrated the world economy (Herman and McChesney, 1997, p. 26).

It is significant that their approach also recognizes how politics and ideology are inherently part of economics. In this sense, their focus on structure does not necessarily deny the influence of culture.

Herman and McChesney clearly indicate that today's global context was shaped by the policy decisions of the past. In addition, they also emphasize that today's trade agreements will greatly affect the social, political and economic realities of the future. They note, "The political design of all these regional and global trade agreements has been to remove decision-making powers from local and national legislatures in favor of impersonal market forces and / or supranational bureaucracies remote from popular control," (Herman and McChesney, 1997, p. 30).

When viewed in these ways, it is difficult to accept that globalization is value-free and 'naturally' evolved. This speaks then to the power of ideology. They reference a "strong ideology [that] extends to non-beneficiaries [of a global consumer ideology] and genuine victims, many of whom accept it in the face of contradictory experience. Those who question its postulate of benevolence may still not escape its assumptions of naturalness and inevitability," (Herman and McChesney, 1997, p. 35). For these authors, global media are mechanisms for social control. They function to perpetuate and re-articulate this ideology, and, in addition, they benefit as well. Herman and McChesney indicate:

> the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *U.S.A. Today*—and several others ... set the agenda for the rest of the press and for broadcasters as well ... these are elite institutions closely linked to the corporate community and government, and they tend to limit debate and investigative zeal within acceptable elite parameters (1997, p. 138).

Arjun Appadurai echoes Herman and McChesney's position that media are crucial to the maintenance and re-creation of an ideologically favorable environment for globalization. However, in his essay, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," he complicates the conceptualization of a global cultural economy by also positing the relevance of ethnoscapes, technoscapes and finanscapes. He states, "The complexity of the current global economy has to do with certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics which we have barely begun to theorize," (Appadurai, 1990, p. 296). This complexity demonstrates:

> the global relationship between ethnoscapes, technoscapes and finanscapes is deeply disjunctive and profoundly unpredictable ... each acts as a constraint and a parameter for movements in the other. Thus ... [a] model of global political economy must take into account the shifting relationship between perspectives on human movement, technological flow, and financial transfers, which can accommodate their deeply disjunctive relationships with one another (Appadurai, 1990, p. 298).

Therefore, for Appadurai, specificity is an essential component in any attempt to study economics, politics and culture in a global context.

Appadurai makes the subtle observation that the globalization and the homogenization of culture are distinct; homogenization is a vehicle for globalization. He goes on to note that consumers have been transformed, through globalizing tendencies, into a 'sign' that functions to 'mask' "the real seat of agency, which is not the consumer but the producer and the many forces that constitute production," (Appadurai, 1990, p. 307). Here, he alludes to the significations embedded within 'globalization.' Of all the approaches mentioned thus far, Appadurai's approach represents the most concerted effort to bridge (without overtly preferencing one or the other) political economy and cultural studies perspectives.

Douglas Kellner also calls for a similar joining of theoretical approaches. I offer the position detailed in his essay, "Overcoming the Divide: Cultural Studies and Political Economy" as a final example for this proposed continuum. Kellner wants to incorporate elements of political economy into studies of expressive culture. His account is clearly rooted in a cultural tradition, but he sees political economy enhancing and extending humanistic readings of cultural texts. In his words, "culture must be investigated within the social relations and system through which it is produced and consumed, and that analysis of culture is thus intimately bound up with the study of society, politics, and economics," (Kellner, 1997, p. 103). He asserts, "Political economy thus encompasses economics and politics and ... the other central dimensions of society and culture ... However, 'political economy' does not merely refer solely to economics ... the term thus links culture to its political and economic context and opens up cultural studies to history and politics," (Kellner, 1997, p. 105).

In front of the backdrop of a global media culture, Kellner goes on to equate emerging versions of common sense with respective, historically located political hegemonies. What is deemed logical at any point in time is highly influenced by the ideologically driven political atmosphere. For instance, media conglomeration

> was both a function of the general atmosphere of deregulation and a Federal Communications Commission ruling under the Clinton administration ... relaxing these rules and visions of 'synergy' between productions and distribution units has led to an even greater concentration of media conglomerates and will thus probably lead to a narrower range of programming and voices in the future (Kellner, 1997, p. 108).

This example illustrates the impossibility of isolating elements of globalizing economic trends from politics, culture, ideology and naturalized forms of 'reason.'

Kellner's call for a 'multiperspectival' approach, informed by political economy, that not only reads texts as hegemonically ideological, but also incorporates notions of meaningful social representations within systems of production and distribution, is unfortunately beyond the scope of the project at hand. Instead, I wish to draw on scholars like Kellner to emphasize the value of overlapping approaches and demonstrate the connections between politics, culture and economics in the interstices of globalization discourse. Economics is a structuring force, but semiotic and narrative analyses reveal links to the influence of culture and politics.

Each scholar represented in this spectrum of approaches has attributed a varying degree of power to culture. But, they all significantly presuppose the intersection of culture and economics. Although each has substantiated that a relationship between discourse, ideology and globalizing tendencies exists, few strive to explain how discourse envelops ideology and influences globalizing practices. However, Marjorie Ferguson, informed by Barthes, has focused her attention on second order significations in globalization mythology. At this point, in an effort to further substantiate the convergence of economics, politics and culture, and to re-articulate the value and necessity of a semiotic approach, I trace a similar relationship between discursive mythology and structuration.

Connecting Semiotics, Structuration and Mythology

In his seminal work on mythology, Barthes posits: "in myth the meaning is distorted by the concept. Of course, this distortion is possible only because the form of the myth is already constituted by a linguistic meaning...myth is a value," (1980, pp. 122-123). As a parallel, globalization mythology is more significant than its explicit linguistic meaning might suggest. Globalization myths also signify values.

Ferguson extends this line of analysis. She argues that representations of globalization explicitly function as explanations, but, more significantly, also implicitly serve ideological objectives. She states:

> As a conceptual notion, then, 'globalization' offers mixed messages. It sounds like a relatively value-neutral descriptor of a supranational universe ... But on closer examination it reveals extensive causal assumptions, normative intentions

> and value judgements ... Such rhetoric, far from being value-free, implies reification and carries ideological baggage whereby globalization becomes the new dynamic ... of world change ... [I]ts status may be moving from that of mythology to ideology (1992, pp. 73-74).

The mythological, ideological rhetoric that Ferguson is referring to is not so much about globalization per se as it is "about the objectives of and relationships between the disparate interests and institutions seeking to ride on the back of the globalizing momentum," (1992, p. 74). In this sense, globalization rhetoric clearly operates and should be acknowledged as a second order system of signification. Ferguson emphasizes the social and dynamic nature of globalization's myths:

> The mythology about globalization also reveals how old myths adapt and new ones arise ... Nothing is finite about this structuring of social reality. Like all the best mythologies, this too is fluid, as new myths emerge to explain a changing world so old ones adapt or fade away (Ferguson, 1992, p. 74).

She makes reference to the systemic power of narrative constructions to structure and confine social reality through the categorization of political, economic and cultural ideas. Unfortunately, absent from this account is the specificity that an explicit analysis would afford. In my estimation, the aforementioned signification supports a recognition of narrative constructions as a unit of study and substantiates the value of discursive analysis in the interrogation of what globalization means, or, more specifically, what globalization myths signify.

Barthes makes a case that the very power and principle of myth lies in its ability to transform "history into nature ... the concept can remain manifest without however appearing to have an interest in the matter: what causes mythical speech to be uttered is perfectly explicit, but it is immediately frozen into something natural; it is not read as a motive, but as a reason," (1980, p. 129). Therefore, prior to incorporating semiotic analysis in the study of globalization, we are restricted to question only that which is said. Accordingly, we are unable (without the contribution of semiotics) to delve beneath the surface, beyond what is said, to examine what the messages might signify.

Barthes recognized that myths could exist in modes of writing, such as journalism. For example, in newspaper articles, "the signification becomes a parasite of the article," (Barthes, 1980, p. 132). Here, he reconfirms that language, as a system, is meaningful on both the connotative and denotative levels. This is why deconstructing what the newspapers signify can expose more critical explanations of culture and society. Mythology's hegemonic power is so effective because it " does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them ... it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification ... it organizes a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth ... things appear to mean something by themselves," (Barthes, 1980, p. 143). My initial error in approaching this project was to underestimate the subtlety of myths.

I originally mistook 'globalization as a business strategy' as globalization's myth. In a sense then, disappointment over early readings of popular representations of globalization (as a business strategy) precluded my immediate recognition of mythology's more powerful effect: to

explicitly reveal global strategizing in a way that renders it natural, justified, and innocent while conflating it with a seemingly inevitable strand of progress and sensible advancement. Discursive analyses and the study of second order significations are then central to exposing structures. And, exposing the social construction of structural barriers is the crucial first step toward recognizing our potential to re-construct social realities and influence social change. With this in mind, I turn toward the details of this analysis.

Representations of Globalization in *The Wall Street Journal*

It is not possible for even The Wall Street Journal to discuss economics without also invoking issues of politics and culture, though it primarily does so in an implicit and purportedly neutral manner. To the extent that economics is considered a 'science,' the 'logic' of producing, distributing and consuming appears universally evident and disinterested. However, in fact, perhaps no publication more devoutly presupposes the 'logic' of economics as 'common sense.' As Herman and McChesney suggest, The Wall Street Journal functions as a model for the industry, setting both professional standards and news agendas. It is therefore likely that representations of economic discourse in The Wall Street Journal influence similar coverage in a variety of smaller newspapers.

The Wall Street Journal began indexing globalization, as a news topic, in 1995. It was discontinued as an indexed topic of news in 1998. My sample therefore consists of the 31 indexed articles, which ran between October, 1995 and December, 1997. I am not suggesting that issues of or relevant to globalization were not mentioned in this publication prior to 1995, since 1997, or that additional articles published within the specified period of time made no mention of globalization. Indeed, a multitude of such articles were excluded from this sample and could prove to be a valuable starting point for future work. I have simply chosen to limit my sample to the coverage The Wall Street Journal declared germane to the topic at hand.

Convention tells us that where articles are placed in a newspaper is indicative of the story's perceived prominence. The stories judged to be most significant are customarily placed in the front of the newspaper. It is quite revealing then that over fifty percent of the stories about globalization appeared in the first section of The Wall Street Journal, and approximately one third of the total sample appeared on the front page. In addition, the topic of globalization warranted the publication of four special reports. These details all speak to the tremendous sense of presence that we associate with globalization.

Perhaps what was most significant in relation to placement was that, although all of the articles explicitly represented globalization as intrinsically economic, only two stories were classified as 'Economy' pieces and only one was categorized as a 'Business' article. The paper's editors demonstrated no show of apprehension as they overridingly positioned economic discourse throughout the newspaper, naturalizing associations between culture and politics as economic.

It is also notable that nineteen percent of the sampled articles, all incidentally located in the first section of the paper, were classified as 'International' stories. Globalization is obviously impacting regions of the world beyond our national borders. However, what is telling about this

classification is the implication that 'International' stories are considered prominent news items in terms of their relation to economic issues, events and activities.

Headlines are often considered the most important narrative element in any news story. Because few people read a newspaper from front to back, it is not uncommon for the headline to be the only part of an article that is actually read. From the sample of headlines, broken apart into word groups and narrative phrases, two primary themes emerged: globalization was unavoidably powerful; and / or unquestionably positive.

In the first case, headlines expressed the strength and powerful momentum of globalization with phrases such as: 'driving force,' 'flood of deals' and 'continental shift.' Globalization was represented as something that should inspire panic. It demanded that we defend ourselves; it was a force that one needed to survive. The following excerpts evoked a sense of urgency: 'head off crisis,' 'just survive,' 'gird for global battle,' 'threatened by global economy' and 'scramble in race.' And the implied best defense, to avoid being conquered by the 'global powerhouses' and the 'mega-mergers,' was to choose to join the race or risk being overtaken.

The second theme aroused feelings of liberation and freedom. Globalization, in this sense, was all about a new environment of bigger and better opportunities. For example, 'firms expand,' 'stocks surge' and 'firms thrive,' in this 'era of growth' with its 'freer global markets,' 'no boundaries,' 'expanding strategies' and 'emerging markets.' The headlines urged, 'follow customers,' 'forestall inflation' and 'reorganize.' 'The barriers are few' for 'global powerhouses.'

These suggestions are in no way value-free. They automatically assume the virtue of growth and expansion, and herald freedom without limitations. When globalization is positioned as the result of reorganization, it implies that the latter stage is more organized and systematic. In a sense then, globalization becomes conflated with order and efficiency. This type of conflation is in and of itself considerable. But embedded deeper within that conflation is the valuing of productive efficiency, which often connotes cost-effectiveness. If we grant that cost-effectiveness is a central tenet of economic logic, we can begin to see how cultural values are deeply embedded within 'pure' economic reason.

Informed by the 'inverted pyramid' construction of news articles (itself a signifying code), the lead sentence (or lead paragraph) contextualizes the article by conveying to the reader the pith of the story. In other words, readers are told what is (supposedly) at issue one inch into the account[1]. The sampled leads frame the articles in accordance with a few dominant themes that especially resonate with one of America's most fundamental cultural axioms: competition. More often than not, the leads conjured up images of contests. Phrases such as 'rapid pace,' 'global powerhouses,' 'threat for U.S.,' 'compete around the globe' and 'bold step forward' all contribute to generating an atmosphere of competition. There is a sense of needing to measure up in the global context. An article began by naming the 'leaders in globalization,' suggesting

[1] I wish to problematize my use of 'story' and 'account.' As synonyms for 'article,' they suggest the inherently subjective construction of news that, unfortunately, is not often attributed to journalism.

the metaphor of an athletic event to connote that globalization was a race that we should strive to lead.

As one example, the lead of the most recent article asserts that 'the big question for 1998' is whether or not the Asian 'financial crisis' is a "welcome tranquilizer for the U.S. economy or the first tremor of the Clinton recession," (December 29, 1997). Here it is assumed that the year's 'biggest question' must be related to the state of the economy. This lead is richly layered with signified meaning. First, financial problems are crises. Second, the use of the word 'tranquilizer' suggests that the U.S. economy is witnessing unimagined growth and expansion (as a result of this globally integrated market system). Similarly, the use of the word 'tremor' evokes images of a forthcoming earthquake—a massive, natural disaster. The looming disaster is a threatening recession, though not just any recession. This recession is the Clinton recession, as though Clinton's presidency is the only force that could lead to such an occurrence.

It would take the average reader approximately four seconds to read the lead deconstructed above. And, I would argue that he or she would most likely accept the level of significance granted to issues of economy by immediately and instinctively moving on to the next sentence. In doing so, this reader probably would not overtly identify and question the associations made between economic downturns and notions of crisis. He or she might skip over the links connecting globalization and the phenomenal growth of the U.S. economy, and a recession with the Clinton administration. Hasty readings may lead readers to automatically absorb these associations as naturally related, and therefore miss the presence of culture and politics in that which is economic.

Another article reports on the reality of globalization:

> In a world stripped of the superpower confrontation that defined international behavior during the Cold War, commercial interaction has more and more become a force that shapes relations among nations ... In the U.S., international trade now accounts for about 24% of gross [sic] domestic product. This has been an extremely positive development. As trade barriers fall away, as flows of foreign direct investment increase, new competitors enter the marketplace, creating new opportunities for consumers and job seekers (April 28, 1997).

This quotation characterizes the world as 'stripped' of Cold War politics. '[S]tripped' is an interesting word choice when positioned in relation to 'superpower confrontation.' What it suggests is that the world is so in need of an overarching ideology to 'guide international behavior' that even the threat of Cold War confrontation is preferable to the absence of some sort of central dogma. But we need not worry, for 'more and more,' 'commercial interaction' has apparently evolved to meet that need. In this sense economics is 'naturally' positioned as the new world ideology, conflating the logic of economics with a sense of world order. This not only naturalizes the incorporation of politics and culture into that which is economic, but also presupposes that what is economic is inevitably transnational, cross-cultural and orderly.

The passage continues with the assumption that a rising percentage of international trade is 'an extremely positive development.' This may or may not be the case, but in this instance there is no recognized need to back the stated assertion. Its content is understood to be evident.

Therefore, the falling away of trade barriers, increases in foreign direct investment and marketplace competition that support this development must also be meritorious. The directed nature of these political decisions becomes masked behind the logic of economic development.

Let me concede that critiques of globalization were incorporated into the narrative constructions of this sample. However, such critiques were more frequently placed at the end of the articles than in the beginning. This brief analysis was intended to be less about critiquing globalization than it was to demonstrate that signified meanings and manifest values are layered within the content of economic discourse.

It is important to recognize that discourse, significations, ideology and social structures do not mesh together in a seamless, uncomplicated fashion. Nevertheless, over time, linguistic codes can become absorbed into our consciousness, in accordance with (in Stuart Hall's terms) a 'pattern of preferred reading,' and meaningfully influence how we make sense of the world.

According to Hall, codes interact in a language system to produce 'dominant' readings of textual representations. We do need to acknowledge that every reader is not going to interpret every code in the same manner. Hall is careful to specify that 'dominant' is never equated with 'determinant.' But this alone does not disqualify the power and presence of dominant ideology. We must not confuse the existence of 'negotiated' and 'resistive' readings as an extinguishment of 'dominant' readings. Notions of negotiated and resistive readings seem, in fact, to require the existence of a dominant reading. Otherwise, what would be negotiated and resisted?

Hall suggests that 'patterns of preferred reading' have

> the institutional / political / ideological order imprinted in them ... The domains of 'preferred meanings' have the whole social order embedded in them as a set of meanings, practices and beliefs: the everyday knowledge of social structures, of 'how things work for all practical purposes in a culture,' the rank order of power and interest and the structure of legitimations, limits and sanctions (Hall, 1980, p. 134).

Therefore, by accepting the preferred reading of codes as logical, we correspondingly accept their embedded social order.

The discursive analysis specified above demonstrates that there is considerable evidence supporting the presence of cultural and political values in representations of globalization. But, I would argue that the patterns described in the analysis probably went undetected by the vast majority of readers. From that, I infer two basic outcomes: 1.) culture and politics can become naturalized as intrinsically connected to economics, to the extent that their presence is invisible when not deliberately pursued; and 2.) their invisibility can permit them to become further woven into the fabric of economic discourse and, therefore, further structure our world.

Hall explains:

> The media serve, in societies like ours, ceaselessly to perform the critical ideological work of 'classifying out the world' within the discourses of dominant ideologies ... the work of 'ideological reproduction' which they perform ... is a

> systematic tendency, not an incidental feature—to reproduce the ideological field of a society in such a way as to reproduce, also, its structure of domination (1979, p. 346).

As we continue to interact with mediated representations, we inadvertently (but systematically) contribute to reinforcing the hegemonic power of dominant ideology to constrain our realities. Critical understanding of our role in this process is necessary if we hope to re-direct social change in the future. In order to negotiate and resist dominant, hegemonic readings, we must conscientiously strive to identify the patterns of preferred readings.

Concluding Remarks

For this analysis, I have, throughout the essay, preferenced illustrations that are clearly rooted in the economic. However, do not mistake this decision as a totalizing, Marxist understanding of the world. Doing so would entail missing my point entirely. For as much as communication scholars may explicitly recognize aspects of both culture and political economy in issues of globalization, more popular understandings overwhelmingly weigh in favor of a seemingly 'pure,' economic approach. Culture, it appears, is a factor only in the sense that homogenization supports (and heterogeneity complicates) the expansion of the economic environment. My point is that accepting a popular representation of globalization as signifying something 'purely' economic invariably involves accepting its political and cultural values as well. Media (in this case, *The Wall Street Journal*) can articulate, reinforce and reproduce ideologies that structure our world, even without explicitly referencing culture and politics.

The myth embedded in popular representations of globalization is not merely that globalization is a business strategy, but that it is a value-laden, historically-located, socially-constructed, politically-motivated business strategy. The power of the myth renders such constructions and motivations transparent. The logic directing the strategy appears inherently natural, stripped of all its political purposefulness. Taken to an extreme, the influence of culture and politics on economic values disappears and subsequent value judgements then appear not as the choices they are, but as natural inevitabilities.

I am not attempting to imply that globalizing tendencies are all negative, or, on the other hand, all positive. But rather, failing to recognize the full signification of 'globalization' is to be ill-informed. Globalization cannot be considered value-free, innocent or evolved (as Barthes would state) from the 'nature' of things. Any tendency or disposition to associate globalization with 'common sense' or 'neutrality' only confirms the hegemonic power of its myth.

Let me also clarify that I am not upholding semiotics and discursive analysis as the most valuable and appropriate ways to study globalization, its processes, structures, merits or constraints. On the contrary, my opinion is that globalization, in particular, and economics, in general, are too complex to be understood through any one method of analysis. My project has the more modest intention of advocating the incorporation of additional methods. This project represents my attempt to demonstrate that semiotics and discursive analysis have the potential to illuminate additional components of a complex subject, and can therefore contribute to aspirations of greater understanding.

In this essay, I have utilized globalization as a site for the interrogation of economic discourse and then drawn connections between globalization, ideology, and the structuring of social reality. I have shown how globalization mythology functions to naturalize the purposeful composition of 'logic' and therefore argued for the use of discursive analysis to expose the values layered within our understanding of that which is economic. This essay has attempted to illustrate some of the consequences of accepting representations without evaluating their significations, and it has subsequently stressed the importance of critical consciousness for greater understanding and participation in the future.

If we fail to identify significations in their entirety, we overlook their subtle but powerful influence on the social construction of our realities. When this occurs, we accept those realities as natural or inevitable and fail to address issues concerning how they are created and constrained. Perhaps most significantly, when this occurs, we fail to recognize our potential to re-construct reality and influence social change.

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Running Head: Convergence of the Internet

Convergence of the Internet Websites by Newspaper, Broadcast, and Internet News Organizations

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Paper presented at the AEJMC Graduate Education Interest Group Research Division in Phoenix, AZ, August 9-12, 2000

Abstract

This paper examines nine news websites, including those of three different media organizations, which have converged into Internet websites. The websites of the news organizations are compared with newspaper, TV broadcasting, and Internet only web sites. The compared units are frame factors: pictures, news contributors, and interactivity. Newspaper websites presented more news items than both TV broadcasting and Internet organization websites, whereas TV websites made greater use of both photos and graphics. Newspaper sites have a high interactivity score. This study found that TV broadcasting has high pictorial content, newspaper sites have many news items and a high portion of staff contribution, while Internet only news sites rely heavily on outside news contribution.

Internet Content Analysis:

Convergence of the Internet Websites

by Newspaper, Broadcast, and Internet News Organizations

Introduction

The Internet has become impossible to ignore in mass communication study, because the use of the Internet keeps growing as both mass media companies and individuals have joined as content providers. It is generally accepted that a new medium becomes a mass medium when it is adopted by 50 million users (Neufeld, 1997). If that proposition is accepted, CommerceNet (1999) estimates Internet users to number 76 million. The Internet, especially the World Wide Web has joined the ranks of the mass media. While one in five people use the Internet at least once a week, this number more than tripled in the past two years (Pew, 1998), and news media companies have built their online sites accordingly.

Today, it is now estimated that more than 4,000 newspapers could be online by the year 2000, and TV news organizations such as CNN, ABC, and MSNBC are teaming up with partners on their web sites rather than competing with them (Gelsi, 1998). Steve Gelsi states, "synergy between TV and Web news is becoming a bigger issue." They are learning that web sites can be used to bring more depth to a story, helping it rival newspapers in this area, whereas newspaper publishers build their own news web site to provide a highly graphic news source that competes with TV news. As a

result, the Internet news has shifted the paradigm for both news production and consumption.

Definition of Conversion

The Internet exemplifies the trend of media convergence. Print news media and broadcast news media are especially determined to bring their own characteristics to a website and try to overcome their weakness in kind of news transmission. This tendency of news organizations, across media types, to duplicate content came to Internet to be called "media convergence" (McQuail, 1994).

> Convergence is the coming together of all forms of mediated communications in an electronic, digital form driven by the computers and enabled by network technology. Convergence presents profound challenges for the existing media order and has paved the way for the development of multimedia products blending text, data, graphics, full-motion video, and their universal accessibility and interactivity in the online world (Pavlik, 1998, p.134).

When such a merger of forms happens to the Internet, is the content form and style similar to or different from other media? On the Internet, is there any difference between content provided by newspaper companies, broadcasting organizations, and the Internet provider organizations? Regardless of the website news providers, there are similarities and differences. There are many newspaper websites using audio, video, and graphics, whereas other websites adopt the interactive mode.

Therefore, this paper's research question is based on the Internet technology's two conversion characteristics: media conversion and text conversion. Overall, the Internet has a two-sided convergence: one is the media convergence of the computer and telephone, the other is the text convergence of various mass media texts including TV, newspapers, and magazines. As a result, the Internet's uses and gratifications are different from traditional media and more complex. When the traditionally distinctive media provide their news content on the Internet, the text, graphics, and narrative will be affected. According to Marshal McLuhan (1960), the medium is key to the news form and content. Furthermore, the neo-formalists said that form and content can not be separated (Meyer, 1999).

The convergence in the Internet involved also radio, magazine, games and music. The other media convergence is in communication aspects such as e-mail, text or file transfer (FTP) or group discussion. Roger Fidler (1997, p.27) states that:

> A merger implies that two or more entities (for example companies, technology, or media) are coming together to form a single, integrated entity. Convergence is more like a crossing of paths or marriage, which results in the transformation of each converging entity, as well as the creation of new entities.

Fidler emphasizes the coevolution and coexistence of different media forms. As the result, the Internet's content would either change form or maintain its current form by following traditional media's strengths. Thus,

Internet content will be distinguished from the content constructor's or provider's characteristics. Therefore, this research focuses on three different media websites: print, TV broadcasting, and Internet only organizations.

This study consists of comparison research to test either the differences or similarities among print, broadcasting, and Internet-only news websites. The focuses of the comparison are digital images (graphic and photographic), interactivity, and news categories. As a result of convergence from different media to the Internet, this research means to analyze the differences between Internet news text and content.

Study of Internet Conversion and Content Analysis

Although many Internet user surveys and industrial survey have been done. Internet content studies are few. Furthermore all the statistics about Internet users are still tentative because the standard of measurement has not yet been academically established. Also, the research application for the Internet has been disregarded as a new potential: therefore, the theories about communication will become less useful, because until recently "[m]ass communications researches have overlooked not only the Internet but the entire field of computer-mediated communication, staying instead with the traditional forms of broadcast and print media that fit more conveniently into models for appropriate research topics and theories of mass communication "(Morris & Ogan 1996, p.39).

The distinctive feature of the Internet is that it is a multifaceted mass medium, that is, it contains many different configurations of communication (Morris & Ogan p.42). Some have encouraged studying the

Internet and suggested the units of analysis for the study (December, 1996). Also, scholars have studied the features of the Internet including virtual reality, virtual relationships, and interactivity (Boicca, 1992).

Compared to traditional media, some distinctive features of the Internet medium are pictorial usage, news contributor method, and interactivity. These three factors frame the analysis of the World Wide Web in examining how visual elements are asserted, how news is reconstructed on the Web, and how Internet users interact. As a converged medium, the Internet provides each user with many different news content. Still, if it needs to define the characteristics of the Internet news, do the converged news websites news style and form have similarities or differences from newspaper, TV broadcasting, and Internet only organization media ?

Framing Theory

When media organizations converge on the Internet, media organizations have different frame settings in terms of journalistic activity as well as in terms of perspective toward the media commodity. On the Internet, there might happen to be any number of meaningful similarities and differences between the content provided by print organizations and that from broadcast outlets. Web sites that are run by TV organizations and newspaper companies have many similar frames because of the Internet technology's convergence. With current bandwidth limitation, TV companies that want a presence on the web must present most of their news information as text, and many online newspapers are now using audio and video clips in their news stories. In this digital medium, there may be some

distinction in framing methods for the news as far as print and TV broadcast companies are concerned.

Therefore, the most useful theoretical model for explaining text and media conversion in the Internet is the framing theory. The frame is conceived as a window through which the observer looks into an outer world.

Kress, et. al. (1996) suggest that visual composition relates the representational and interactive meanings of an image to each other through three interrelated systems: information value, salience, and framing. Kress's approach examines the structural element text or picture, text structure, and source contributor.

Tuchman (1972) state that news media frame social issues based on a "central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration."

Therefore, the production processes should be "efficient." One of the best ways to have work done efficiently, especially within "deadlines," would be through "routinization" of the processes of working.

Thus, according to Tuchman (1972), routinization of news reporting is the essential character of "the rule of objectivity" in journalism. Following this rule of objectivity, news organizations construct their rule in the Internet age. Scholars would argue that the reason journalists have certain patterns in reporting social issues is that this facilitates the "process of news production," meaning that the "routinized" patterns of reporting make it possible to produce news stories more efficiently and economically

in terms of time and effort. Furthermore, it would protect the journalists from any possible blame because most "routinized" ways of reporting are based on the rule of "objectivity," which also guarantees the professionalism of journalists. As we see in the discussion of "gatekeeping" and "objectivity" (Schudson, 1978), mass media do not report the facts as themselves; rather, they are continuously constructing "the realities," including social issues. The "framework" represents the outside world's reality through media, which constructs social reality. And the framed social reality is not merely presented but resonates with dominant cultural beliefs and values (Reese p.486). Therefore, the reporting of a "routinized objectivity" is one way of framing for a certain issue.

Location of Framing

Frames have at least four locations in the communication process. First, communicators (news organizations) consciously or unconsciously produce frames. Media frames everyday reality through efficiently packaging news. Second, texts contain frames, "which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Third, receivers are guided in their interpretation of communicators' frames by their own frames (related to the priming theory). This frame happens in the audience's experience. The audience processes selective mental information. Fourth, society's culture at large "is the stock of commonly invoked frames" (p. 53). The whole society frames news a

certain way. News stories could not be beyond the society's ideological boundary.

An example is Entman's 1991 study, which examined how Time, Newsweek, and the "CBS Evening News" framed the KAL and Iran Air incidents. The media coverage involved the shooting down of a Korean airliner by the Soviets and an Iranian airliner by the Americans. An analysis of several reports revealed that, in most cases, the KAL downing was described by the U.S. press as an act of "barbarism" committed by the Soviets who "intentionally murdered innocent human beings" (Entman, 1991, .9). On the other hand, the Iran Air downing was described as an "accident" resulting from faulty technology and confusion, with dry and plain language used within reports to describe the fate of the Iran Air airplane (17). In all four locations, frames select and highlight so as "to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation, and/or solution" (Entman, 1993, 53).

As Entman put it, to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and or treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993, 52).

Key to the concept of framing is the twin elements of selection and salience based on media. Producers select the frame (often called the angle, theme, perspective, or slant) for the text, and then attribute of the subject within that frame become more salient than objects outside the frame. In this context, three framing devices have been identified for comparison between newspaper and broadcasting organization's conversion results. The

three elements are picture (including photography and graphics), news contributors, and interactivity.

When different news media converge into the Internet, they have a similar technological context that is created by Internet and new media called technological context. The hypertext or text conversion into the Internet is text level framing. Therefore, this paper focuses on the Internet's text level framing setting. This paper compares the text frame's similarity and differences among newspaper, TV broadcasting and Internet only organization news websites. This technological context provides a new frame to news presentation on websites. Therefore, this paper will determine the frame shift trends from traditional frame methods to new frame styles.

Pictures

The World Wide Web has an advantage over print newspapers because it is excellent for displaying colorful graphics. During the last decade, the most striking changes in American mass media have been an increased use of graphics due to digital technologies. With advanced computer technology, retrieving graphics from databases and updating them as required in an Internet news site can be completed in minutes. The trend of increasing news website use of graphics can continue in the web environment.

Redundancy in television graphics allows viewers to better understand a story, according to an experiment by Drew and Grimes (1987). Also one experiment found that high-graphic web sites were considered more attractive than low graphic sites (Chamberlin, 1998). An experiment

reveals that tables and graphs are more efficiently processed than text presentations of the same data (Kelly, 1993).

Although pictures are very effective in websites, high graphics and photos reduce Internet speed. According to Hoag (1997), an Internet user's first priority is speed and interactivity. He points out several reasons for the growth in usage of web news: online news made it possible for a reader, without leaving their office, to have immediate access, which is constantly updating. Internet journalism's priority is simple journalism. Therefore, Internet news serves both the publisher and the reader to a lesser extent, because reader's uses and gratifications in accessing their news demand just one frame at a time. An Internet designer must balance text and pictures for readers. By exploring approaches to web page graphic use and photo frequency in three different media, this paper examines how newspaper and broadcasting media demonstrate the convergence from traditional media forms to a new form.

News Contributors

Both television and newspapers in the United States became profitable in the 1970s when stations adopted electronic newsgathering technology and commercial databases. The database and wire service has been growing as technology continues to advance.

There is no doubt that online service providers and Internet databases search more quickly and more productively than old-fashioned methods. On-line resources have been among the most dynamic portions of the computer industry in this decade. Therefore, news on the Internet comes

form various contributors such as news organization writer, wire service(AP, UPI, AFP, and Reuters), and special writers.

According to Tuchman (Soloski 1989), news not only reflects reality, it actually helps to create it. News is dialectical in that it draws on present conceptualizations of reality and helps to alter our perception of it. Thus, how new organizations gather news and types of sources they use are important to study because they determine not only what information is presented to the public, but also what image of society is presented. The more resources available for news coverage, the narrower the holes are in the news net, and thus more events will be captured for presentation as news.

Interactivity

The Internet's most distinctive feature is interactivity. Interactivity is that user's clicking intended action with one's deciding what information without clicking mouse or typing keyboard. This interactivity in the Internet is based on its 'grammar' of hypertext presentation. The hypertext-based stem can be considered as one of structural characteristics of the Web.

The notion of hypertext denotes an information medium that links verbal and nonverbal information (Landow, 1999). Accessing hypertext information involves pointing and clicking on the hypertext links that appear on most web sites. The hypertexts have links that enable user to choose the contents or information. Web users should choose information they need by clicking those hypertext links. Therefore, interactivity does not simply mean clicking the mouse, but means sending and retrieving specific information through interactive processes on multiple pathways. The

capability of having various links in hypertext also, allows a user to construct a process to get information regardless of time and location.

Interactivity is a new form of news or text presentation in new media. Rogers (1986) noted that the most essential capacity of electronic media is that of interactivity. Interactivity has been assumed to be a natural attribute of interpersonal communication. The concept is more recently applied to all new media, from two-way cable to the Internet. Rafaeli's definition (1988) of interactivity recognizes three pertinent levels: two-way (noninteractive) communication, reactive (or quasi-interactive) communication, and fully interactive communication.

Operational Definitions

Internet content has many dimensions and various uses and gratifications, but to compare different news presentations and framing styles, this paper focuses on graphic or pictorial use frequency, interactivity, and front-page news presentation methods. To make a comparison between media, this paper operationalizes these terms: picture, news contributor, and interactivity.

A picture: a picture is defined as a representation of something including photography and graphical presentation. The total number and the size will be counted. Also, the interactive location will be recorded, specifically, whether the picture is on the front page, at a second interactive location, or on a separate interactive level.

There are two categories in pictures: photos and pictorial graphs. Sometimes both categories are used in the same picture or the two categories are blurring, but this paper makes a clear distinction between

photography and graphics. A photos is defined as a representation of some event by photographs. A graph is defined as visual presentation of data, maps, objects, diagrams etc.

This study counts the amount of the number based on the picture's location either front-page or linked page and size either large, medium, or small. The size of photos and graphs on the Web were prefixed in pixels. Therefore, the size of photos and graphs remains relatively fixed no matter how large the computer screen is. To decide the size of the photos and graphs, the graphs and photos are measured in inches by their size as they appear on a 14-inch computer screen. The graphics were divided into three categories: large, medium, and small. The range of picture sizes is determined by first measure the area of each picture and graph and then dividing by screen area. When the ratio is above 65% the picture is considered large; between 35-65% medium, and below 35% small.

Normally, the square sizes of each category are standard to the ratio closest to 4:3, therefore, large is greater than 4'x3.3'; medium less than 4'x3.3' and greater than 2'x1' (one medium example is 3.5'x2.5'); small 2'x1' or smaller.

Location is defined as a homepage, a front page, or a linked page:

1. A home page is defined as a newspaper's initial or opening screen on the web. It generally contains only hypertext links for accessing information published within a newspaper's site or on an external, or off-site locale on the web.

2. A front page is defined the same as the newspaper's front page. The "front page can be accessed through the home page or can itself serve as the newspaper's initial web screen, and can be recognized by its similarity in appearance to a print newspaper front page."

3. A link page follows either a front-page or homepage to connect the story or finish the hypertext, which is linked to home or front pages.

Within those sites' photos or graphics, the pictures might be related to the news story and may present the picture itself. Therefore you decide whether the picture is related to the news story or to the picture itself.

News contributors: news contributors consist of four different types. The first is newspaper or webpage organization's staff of reporters, the other is the traditional wire services (AP, UPI, AFP, and Reuters) or other news provider, and the third is an academic or medical field's studies as contributing the news sources called special contributors. The fourth category consists of contributor or news sources that cannot be identified such as unidentified audiences or opinion writers.

The websites have sports sites, business sites, weather sites, food sites, etc. But this research focuses on the daily front-page news item concept. Therefore, this analysis excluded meta-linked news or related linked news stories. The front news items were classified as 1) everyday updates 2) cover news stories 3) front-page concept. If there is difficulty in defining in Internet organization web site, this study adds one category as "top news."

This study first defined the total number of news stories on the front page. Then this research analyzed who the writers were. The categories are follow 1) Staff writers. The staff writer is defined as those who are reporters or writers in the same media organization. For example, The New York Times' reporters or editors but not other news companies' writers. 2) Wire services or other news agency: This included news agencies such as AP, UPI, AFP, Reuters, or other news companies. 3) Special contributors who are not news organization writers, such as professors or medical doctors, and 4) Indecipherable: This study determined that if no name is assigned to the reporter or writer, it is indecipherable.

Interactivity: Using the technical interactivity definition, the paper classifies six-dimension levels (Heeter, 1989, 221). It allows two way association between users and information: The degrees are six levels from Dimension 1: complex of choices available, to Dimension 8: facilitation of interpersonal communication.

The interactivity coding measures how many readers can actively search or respond to the news company or news story. That is, its purpose is to measure the reader's participation of opportunity or input and the elaboration process.

News web sites are offering a number of interactivity and quasi-interactivity features. In this study, the entire front page's Internet site was the unit of observation for the interactivity. The interactivity coding measures how many readers can actively search or respond to the news company or news story. That is, its purpose is to measure the reader's participation of opportunity or input and the elaboration process. This study

coded for 1) availability for discussion forums offering. 2) Archive searching allows users to enter keywords and find stories that contain them. 3) A user poll allows users to vote on a topic and see the updated tabulation. 4) An interactive help or FAQ (frequent asked questions) section allows users to select topics and receive answers about the using the web site. 5) The availability of e-mail to the organization. 6) E-mail to individual author. 7) A published section for newsreaders' comments or reader's opinion. 8) News items with icons for real audio, video or slide, that is, visual elaboration of the text.

Research Questions

The goal of this study is to compare websites' dimensions with three different news media's websites, namely, newspaper, broadcast, and Internet organizations.

RQ1: Each organization has different sized graphics and different frequencies of graphic or pictorial use. This RQ1 will compare the frequency of graphic and pictorial usage. Are there different numbers and levels from different media? To what extent do the news websites of newspaper and broadcasting news organizations differ in the number and size of picture usage?

RQ2: There may be different levels of news writing. The newspaper websites's news might be written mainly by reporters or staff and outside wire services. Internet organization website news comes from news agencies or outside news contributors. How much news comes from staff

reporters on newspaper and TV websites? Likewise, how much news comes from outside news services?

RQ2-1: How many stories are on the front pages of the newspaper, broadcasting, and the Internet organizations websites?

RQ2-2. What portion of news comes from staff, wire services, special contributor, and have no indication for each three different media ?

RQ3: What are the levels of interactivity among different media organizations? To measure narrative styles, the research question tests the websites' textual construction methods. What are the differences in the number and type of interactive features provided by newspaper, TV broadcasting, and Internet only organization websites?

As was common with the earlier research in the Internet paradigm the typologies do not match on a one-to-one basis between the two studies. This is to be expected since the research is still in its infancy and researchers are bound to concentrate on different things. All the studies about the Internet content analysis are still tentative because the standard of analysis and the unit of analysis have not yet been academically established, and Internet research is new and recent. Therefore, there have not been enough studies to set this research hypotheses. Thus, this study could not predict the content differences and similarities for the Internet.

Methodology:

This research will conduct a content analysis of selected websites. To study the research questions, this research focuses on the front page and its linked news stories. In other words, most news is classified by news type, but this research focuses on front page related stories. The front pages are actually the homepages in news websites. The most common trend in news organization websites is front-page news sites appearing on home pages. That means front-pages become homepages. Newsreaders are not interested in the news organization's goals or philosophy. They want to read news and gain knowledge or information. Therefore, most news websites' first have pages shifted from home page to front page.

The content analysis is drawn from the websites of three national newspapers, three broadcasting websites, and three Internet only news websites. In the Internet news web sites, there are sport sites, weather sites, special commerce sites, and special topic news sites. However, this research is interested in journalistic news web sites and national news websites. Therefore, the population of this research is U.S based journalistic news web sites among print, television broadcasting, and Internet organized web sites.

This study restricts to national news organizations: three newspapers, TV broadcastings and Internet only news organizations. This study eliminates all local newspapers and TV broadcasting sites.

The Internet samples are:

Print	Broadcasting	Internet
Los Angeles Times	CNN	Drudge Report
New York Times	CBS	WorldNet Daily
WashingtonPost	ABC	NewsMax

Universe:

This study compared the text, picture, and interactivity with newspaper, TV broadcasting, and Internet organizations. Thus, this study's universe is limited to the U.S. journalism websites that cover national level. Therefore, this study eliminates all local TV broadcasting and newspaper websites. As the result, this study's content universe is limited U.S. news websites that contain original material on general news topics, updated daily bases. The nine sites are Los Angeles Times, New York Times, Washington Post, "CNN", "CBS", "ABC", Drudge Report, WorldNet Daily, and NewsMax.

Sample days:

This research examine for 15 days (3/12-4/25/2000), front pages, home pages, and news story pages of each of the three different media websites.

Coding units:

The unit of analysis is a front-page or a home page component and its linked news sites: photograph and graphics, interactivity, and news story contributor. The operational definition in this research for home page and front pages is used. The "home page is a newspaper's initial, or opening

screen on the web. It generally contains only hypertext links for accessing information published within a newspaper's site or on an external, or off-site locale on the web, whereas the "front page can be accessed through the home page or can itself serve as the newspaper's initial web screen, and can be recognized by its similarity in appearance to a print newspaper front page" (Massey, 1999, 139).

Coding Procedures:

The researcher will instruct the coders on the procedure for coding. Three graduate students and one undergraduate students in the Department of Journalism at SIUC will code the sampled websites. Each coder will code three different media websites. That means each coder will code one print, one broadcasting, and one Internet organization website.

Data Processing

The data in the coding sheet are input statistics data spread sheets. Then, the statistical analysis was conducted using statistic software package. The independent variables are total numbers of picture (photos and graphics), number of picture size, location, news contributor classifications (staff writer, wire services, special contributors and indecipherable), and interactivity numbers. To test the research question #1, 2, and 3, t-test, Chi-square (χ^2), ANOVA, and Pearson correlation coefficients(r) were computed using SAS/UNIX and JMPIN 3.26/MAC.

Reliability:

An intercoder reliability was checked in one-day pilot-test session. The formula used is Scott's pi (pi=proprtion observed agreement-proportion expected agreement/1-proportion expected agreement), which compensates

for the rates of agreement that would be expected by chance (Wimmer, 1991,173). Each student coded three websites and compared the coders' agreement for each unit of analysis: picture, news contributors, and interactivity. The intercoder reliability in photography was 90.2%, news contributor was 87.3%, and interactivity was 97.2%.

Results

This study measured the three different news organization's frame differences and similarities for Internet news websites, which are converged from both computer and telecommunications. The main research comparison is between newspaper and TV broadcasting. The Internet only news sites are only compared to other media in terms of overall differences for the next research purpose.

Overall, due to telecommunication conversion into the Internet, newspapers and TV broadcastings convey news through a blend of written words, photography, graphics, and interactivity on the web. These have different news presentation styles and frame methods from their original media organizations. Therefore, this research's main purpose is to determine when different media present news on the Internet, what kind of frame similarity and differences will happen.

This research found out that TV websites have a high percentage of total picture usage, newspapers sites have a high number of total news stories as well as a high interactivity score (Table 9). On the other hand, Internet only news websites have a high portion of wire service or other media news contribution.

Therefore, this paper can say that TV broadcasting has high pictorial content, newspapers have many news items and staff writers. Internet only news sites have highly related outside news contribution.

Descriptive statistics: Of the 9 different news websites, a total 27 web sites were analyzed. Table 9 shows the news frequency, total picture, and interactivity of the Internet news sites. Average news items per day in newspaper sites is 86.33, for TV sites 58.44, and for Internet sites 39.33 (Table 4). Newspaper websites have twice as many news items than Internet only organizations. This research focused on front-pages and their linked news items. This might be caused by the large differences between those media as well as newspaper having more systematic newsgathering practices. Also, while in the early coding period, the research found that Internet news sites have strong hyperlink power to other sites and create a metasite frame.

Thus, there is a big difference in total number of stories. The differences in number of news stories between newspapers and TV sites is relatively high.

Picture Frame

The analysis of picture usage data reveals that different media have different levels of pictorial usage. Overall, the ANOVA score is 84.37 (α=. 001, P>F) (Table 1). That means, there are a significant mean differences compared those with three different media: newspaper, TV broadcasting, and Internet only news websites. TV sites use pictures more frequently than newspaper sites. CNN has a high level of picture usage, both in terms of photos and graphics (pictures= 79.3, photos=58.00, and graphics=21.33).

All three TV broadcasting news sites have higher number of picture usage then newspaper sites have.

Appendix's Table 3 shows each news site's daily average picture numbers. TV broadcasting sites have relatively higher numbers (CNN=79.3, ABC =64.67 CBS 62.67) than newspapers (New York Times=49.67, Los Angeles Times=41.33, and Washington Post=37.67). The Internet only websites have the lowest score (Drudge=18.00, WorldNet 19.00, and NewsMax=13.00).

Compared to total number of news story, total picture numbers are greater than total news items. The reason is that some news stories in TV broadcastings have more than one picture or graphic in a news story to support news text; therefore, total number of pictures per day (68.89) in Table 1 out numbered total news stories (58.44) in TV sites (Table4).

Overall, in picture usage, the average number of total picture (Table 1) on Internet sites is 16.89, newspapers 42.89, and TV sites 68.89. On the other hand, newspaper sites used more small size photos than large photos (Table 2), whereas TV sites used the same number of middle size photos (19.55). This is correlated between the total news stories and the number of middle or large size photos. That means, newspaper sites have more news items than TV sites. Thus, in order to increase total news items, newspaper sites use small size photos. On the other hand, Internet only websites use more medium size (9.22) than small size photos, but the number of large size photos is a very small portion (0.55) (Table 2).

News Contributors

There are four website news contributors: staff writers, wire service, special contributors, and sources that are indecipherable. Overall, there is a high chi-square significance for news contributors compared to each media (χ^2= 99.09, p=. 001, df= 6) (Table 5). That is, the news writer's numbers have a significant score for deviated frequencies. The three different media have significantly different numbers of news contributors, both newspaper and TV broadcasting media. Raw numbers show that newspapers have a larger potion of staff writing for example Los Angeles Times (62.25% staff/ 17.21% wire service), the New York Times (80.53 % / 12.90%), and Washington Post (58.01 % / 30.56 %), than do TV websites, which have a small portion of staff writers and a large portion of wire service CNN (27.19 %/ 67.74%), CBS (61.46% /35.32%), and ABC (27.22%/ 48.34%). This is significant for news contribution differences between newspapers and TV broadcasting websites (Table 2-2).

A more significant chi-square portion is Internet only organization's websites: Drudge's portion of staff versus wire is 19.52% / 71.88%, World net is 27.93 % / 62.18%, and News Max is 20.87% / 71.30 %(Table 6). That means that Internet organization news web sites are highly dependent upon wire services rather than staff writing.

The difference in the number of news stories is based on the original media. Newspaper sites has an average of 86.3 stories per day, TV sites have 58.4, and Internet only organizations have 39.3 stories (Table4).

Interactivity

First, this research measured what differences there are among print, broadcasting and Internet news sites in the use of picture frequency

and size. The three print newspaper sites' average scores were 6.11 on a total possible score of 8, whereas the three TV broadcasting sites' average scores were 5.55. The t-tests score is 34.21 at α=. 001 (Table 7). The Internet only websites' average is 2.44. The interactive score were different for newspapers and TV broadcastings. The distinctive difference is primarily due to the fact that newspaper have e-mail for individual journalists and help sections, whereas TV broadcasting sites have real audio or video section. These last two features in TV sites are a quasi-interactive feature. This study included interactivity measurement rather than pictorial frequency. The audio and video clips in TV websites are interactive because these help newsreaders and they elaborate user's interactive. Some readers look first at the picture; others read the text before looking at the picture, while still other vacillate between text and video clips. This reading activity is a quasi-interactive behavior, thus this study include interactivity and measure the interactivity. Overall, Table 7 shows that the interactivity scores: 2.44 of Internet, 6.11 of newspaper, and 5.55 of TV media website (Table 8) and interactivity score of each websites (Table 8).

Conclusion

Nine national media were compared on the websites in term of both differences and similarities. The similarities are that all nine of these media use hypertext, namely text, pictures and interactivity (Figure 1, 2, and 3). When telecommunication converged into the Internet, different media had different frame formats to present the news. This paper focused on three frame settings: pictures, news contributors, and interactivity. This framing

model provides the answer to the question: when convergence of media happens to the Internet, are the content's form and style similar or different from other media? On the Internet, is there any difference between content provided by newspaper companies, broadcasting organizations, and the Internet provider organizations?

The strength of the web news sites is their offering of converged content: text, photography, graphics, and audio and video clips. In this research, all text forms are co-evaluated from different media. TV sites have a strong picture frame and audio-video clips.

The other potential of web news sites is interactivity between the user and the medium. Both newspaper (6.11) and TV broadcasting media (5.8) have high interactivity scores. Almost 100% of web news sites provide organization e-mail and research engines. Although newspapers showed more interactivity than the TV sites, the gap may be more reduced within a short period because Internet technology may be shred between newspaper and TV websites.

News contribution measurement shows that TV sites and Internet only sites are dependent upon outside news sources such as wire services or other news data services that are highly interconnected. This research found that Internet news sites are likely to receive news from wires (AP, UPI, AFP, and Reuters) and other news media.

Limitations

This study has several limitations including limited samples because this study sampled websites national coverage organizations such as Los Angeles Times, The New York Times, and Washington Post. Also

the TV broadcasting sites used in this study three national networks (CNN, CBS, and ABC). Thus it could not apply to local or independent newspapers and broadcasting companies. Today, there are more than 3,633 on-line newspapers in the United States. This study focused only on national represented news media sites. Thus this research result limited to generalization to other local media.

Furthermore, this study focused on only front-page news sites for its research purposes. However, the Internet creates new ways of delivering news to readers, that is, hyperlinks or meta-site links. Traditional newspapers and broadcasting media organizations present their news different ways for example, through multi-text, images, and interactivity. Thus, the research paradigm should shift other ways such as discourse analysis or contextual news websites analysis.

As the result of this, in order to gain a more complete understanding of the Internet news frame and presentation, multiple of method are needed. For example, the combination of laboratory experiments, content analysis, and a survey of Internet users for one subject would provide more accurate dimensions to the answer of Internet convergence.

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Table 1

Picture Means by Media

	Websites	Picture Mean	Probability For Picture	Photos (Mean)	Graphics (Mean)
Newspaper	9	42.89 (386)	33.34%	37.89(341)	5.00(45)
TV	9	68.89 (620)	53.54%	52.56(473)	16.33 (147)
Internet	9	16.89 (152)	13.13%	15.78(142)	1.11(10)
Total	27	1158(100%)	100%	956 (100%)	202(100%)

(ANOVA F=84.37 α=. 001) Picture=Photo+Graphics.Thus, picture's % represents others

Table 2

Photos Size Frequency by Media

Media	Large	Medium	Small
Newspapers	3.68 (29.7%)	19.56(36.4%)	14.56 (36.4%)
TV broadcasting	8.11(65.6%)	25.00(46.5%)	19.44(51.4%)
Internet	0.56(4.5%)	9.22(36.4%)	6.00(48.6%)
Total	100%	100%	100%

Table 3

Picture, Photos and Graphics by Websites

Websites	Picture	Photos	Graphics
Los Angeles Times	41.33	32.67	8.67
New York Times	49.67	45.33	4.33
Washington Post	37.67	35.67	2.00
CNN	79.33	58.00	21.33
CBS	62.67	48.00	14.67
ABC	64.67	51.67	13.00
Drudge	18.00	17.00	1.00
WorldNet Daily	19.00	17.00	1.00
NewsMax	13.67	13.33	0.33

It is daily mean number. Thus, % is not necessary.

Table 4

Total News Items by Media (Unit:day)

	Number	Mean	Probability	Std. Error
Newspaper	9	86.33 (777)	46.89%	3.62
TV	9	58.44 (526)	31.74%	3.62
Internet	9	39.33 (354)	21.36%	3.62
Total	27	1657	100%	3.62

95

Table 5

Contributor's Frequency by Media

Frequency| Col Pct	Intr	TV	news	Total
staff	26.66	72.32	172.63	271.61
	22.60	41.48	67.07	
wires	81	85.04	50.67	216.71
	68.65	48.78	19.69	
special	7.99	8.34	28.5	44.83
	6.77	4.78	11.07	
indcpher	2.34	8.64	5.6	16.58
	1.98	4.96	2.18	
Total	117.99	174.34	257.40	549.73
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.0

Statistic	DF	Value	Prob
Chi-Square	6	99.094	0.001

Sample Size = 549.73

93

Table 6
News Contributor by Websites.

SITE Frequency| Row Pct |	Contributor staff	wires	special	indiciph	Total
L.A.Time	60.3	26.67	15.6	4.3	96.67
	62.25	17.21	16.10	4.44	100.00
N.Y.Time	68.67	11	5.3	0.3	85.27
	80.53	12.90	6.22	0.35	100.0
Washington	43.66	23	7.6	1	75.26
	58.02	30.56	10.10	1.33	100.00
CNN	14.33	35.7	2	0.67	52.7
	27.19	67.74	3.80	1.27	100.00
CBS	44.66	25.67	1.67	0.67	72.6
	61.46	35.32	2.30	0.92	100.00
ABC	13.33	23.67	4.67	7.3	48.97
	27.22	48.34	9.54	14.91	100.00
Drudge	8.33	33.67	3	0.67	42.67
	19.52	71.88	7.03	1.57	100.00
WorldNet	10.33	23	2.66	1	36.99
	27.93	62.18	7.19	2.70	100.00
NewsMax	8	27.33	2.33	0.67	38.33
	20.87	71.30	6.08	1.75	100.00
Total	271.61	216.71	44.83	16.58	549.73
	49.41	39.42	8.15	3.02	100.00

*Websites are the independent variable, contributors are the dependent variable.

STATISTICS FOR TABLE OF SITE BY CONTRIBUTOR Statistic	DF	Value	Prob
Chi-Square =159.23 (df=24) r=0.001		Sample Size = 549.73	

Table 7
Interactivity Score by Media

	Websites	Interactivity Score (Total)	Probability	Std Error
Newspaper	9	6.11 (55)	43.31%	0.16
TV	9	5.55 (50)	39.37%	0.16
Internet	9	2.44 (22)	17.32%	0.16
Total	27	127(100%)	100%	0.16

Unit: Per Day Possible Maximum Score is 8.

Table 8
Interactivity Score by Websites

Websites	Interactivity
Los Angeles Times	6.33 (19)
New York Times	6.00 (18)
Washington Post	6.00 (18)
CNN	5.67 (17)
CBS	5.33 (16)
ABC	5.67 (17)
Drudge	2.33 (7)
WorldNet Daily	2.33 (7)
NewsMax	2.67 (8)

Units days (t=34.21 α=.001)

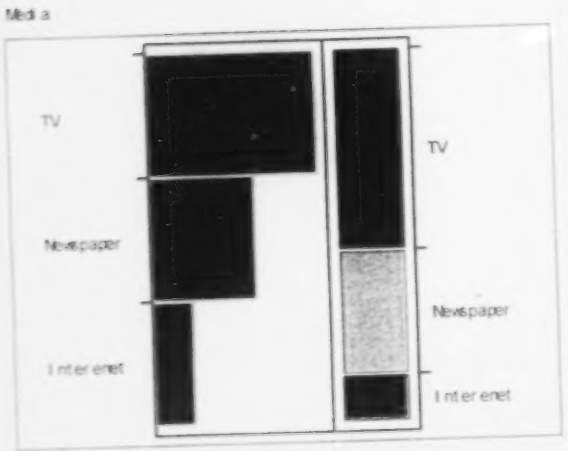
Table 9

Overall Average Picture, News Item, and Interactivity by Media

	Total Picture	Total News	Interactivity
Newspapers	42.89(33.33%)	86.33(46.89%)	6.11(43.31%)
TV Sites	68.89(53.35%)	58.44(31.17%)	5.55(39.37%)
Internetsites	16.89(13.13%)	39.33(21.36%)	2.44(17.32%)
Total	100%	100%	100%

(Unit/day)

Figure 1. Picture Frequency by Media

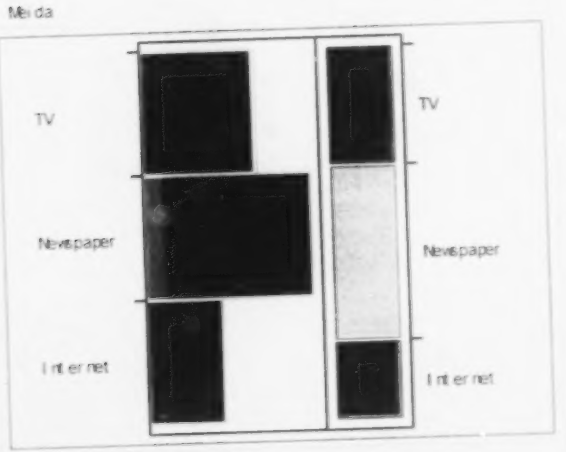


Frequencies

Level	Count	Probability	Cum Prob
Internet	152	0.13126	0.13126
Newspaper	386	0.33333	0.46459
TV	620	0.53541	1.00000
Total	1158		

3Levels

Figure 2. News Items Frequency by Media

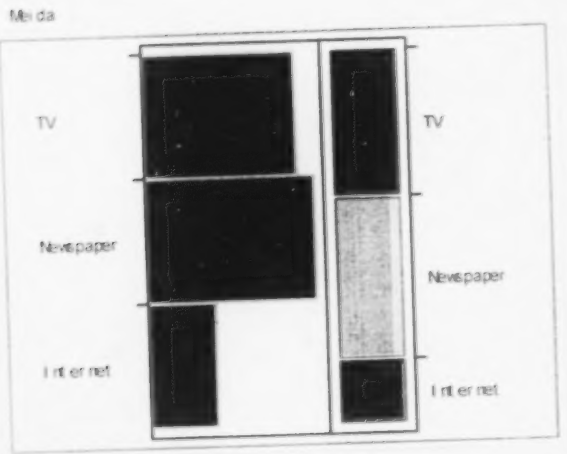


Frequencies

Level	Count	Probability	Cum Prob
Internet	354	0.21364	0.21364
Newspaper	777	0.46892	0.68256
TV	526	0.31744	1.00000
Total	1657		

3Levels

Figure 3: Interactivity Score by Media



Frequencies

Level	Count	Probability	Cum Prob
Internet	22	0.17323	0.17323
Newspaper	55	0.43307	0.60630
TV	50	0.39370	1.00000
Total	127		

3Levels

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Impact and Relationship of Policy and Competition on the Program Diversity in Cable TV

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A Paper Submitted to
the Graduate Education Interest Group
of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

ABSTRACT

This study explores the impact of deregulation on program diversity in U.S. cable television, and the relationship of governmental policy and competition on program diversity. It examines whether there was more program diversity before or after the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, by comparing two time periods: 1992-1995 (from the enactment of the Cable Consumer Protection and Competition Act of 1992 to the Telecommunications Act of 1996) and 1996-to the present (after the enactment of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 up to now).

The first period (1992-1995) brought about strong regulations in the U.S. cable industry, whereas during the second period (1996 up to now) all regulations were virtually dropped. Hence, this change offers an excellent opportunity to examine the effects of governmental policy on program diversity in cable TV. The study suggests that both **vertical* program diversity and **horizontal (*may need to define these terms)* diversity during the deregulatory period have resulted in decreasing the program diversity. As to the relationship between policy and competition in program diversity, while the policy factor was more associated with vertical diversity, the competition factor was more associated with horizontal diversity.

Introduction

The passage of the Cable Act of 1992 was intended to further the state governmental purpose of protecting the public interest by allowing consumers to receive a highly diverse as well as an optimal number of program channels. This could be accomplished by encouraging competition in the marketplace (Allard, 1993). Although the Cable Act of 1992 tried to promote cable competition, the practical reality remained that effective competition is lacking in most areas (Gershon & Egen, 1999). On the other hand the Telecommunications Act of 1996 has been hailed as the harbinger of a new era of expanded competition that will bring about faster technical advances, greater consumer choice, and more economical services. In this sense, the promise of more competition in the Telecommunication Acts of 1996 provides a good opportunity to see if viewers are indeed receiving more diversity in their programming.

The objective of this study is two-fold. First, this study explores the impact of deregulation on program diversity in U.S. cable television, based on the assumption that diversity has been considered one of the most important societal goals to embody the public interest in the U.S. broadcast media. In order to do that, it examines whether there has been more diversity in the number of program types before and after the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, comparing two time periods: 1992-1995 (from the enactment of the Cable Consumer Protection and Competition Act of 1992 to the Telecommunications Act of 1996) and 1996-to the present (after the enactment of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 up to now). Second, it investigates how much relative association it has with each of the two factors-governmental policy and competition-with program diversity in cable TV.

Definition of Diversity and Diversity Indices

Although this study measures program diversity, past studies have examined two types of diversity indices, channel diversity and program diversity. Program diversity is divided into vertical diversity and horizontal diversity. While vertical diversity is designed to measure how diverse programs a station or programmer provides, horizontal diversity estimates how many different program types a viewer can select from at a given time period.

On the other hand, channel diversity is divided into absolute channel diversity and relative channel diversity. The former is the total number of channels in use by a cable system divided by the total possible number of channels in the cable industry. The latter means the total number of channels in actual use by a system divided by total channel capacity of the system.

Literature Review

Relationship Between Policy and Diversity

Several indices have been used to measure diversity of channels and programming. However, they can generally be summarized into two factors, policy factors and economic factors. Previous studies provide mixed results with respect to the relationship between governmental policy and program diversity. Some researchers argued that stronger and more active regulation of cable systems will induce higher diversity (Owen, 1977, Dominick & Pearce, 1976, Mitchell, 1978, Roof, Trauth, & Huffman, 1993) whereas others asserted that the government should not interfere with the marketplace to try to increase diversity (Hurwitz, 1978, Le Duc, 1973, 1983, 1987, Shak, 1990).

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Researchers disagree on whether government policy will encourage program diversity. Owen (1977) argued that a change in governmental regulations would encourage multiple channels in broadcasting markets and improve the quality of programming and promote diversity. Dominick and Pearce (1976) found that oligopolistic commercial television networks had followed the minimum requirements of a series of standardized policies, while continuously reducing program diversity over time. On the other hand, Le Duc (1973, 1983, 1987) argued that the federal communications policy, whose primary concern is stimulating competition, diversity, and public access, has been, and will continue to be, fruitless. Supporting this view, Shak (1990) asserted in his qualitative study that U.S. cable policy failed in securing substantial diversity. He argued that even when the cable industry matured after the nationwide dissemination of signals of pay channels, the diversity problem could not be solved. More recently, Roof, Trauth, & Huffman (1993) asserted that it would be necessary to keep monopolies from dominating production and exhibition in the cable TV industry.

Several critics have seriously examined the assumptions underlying deregulation, and the actual result of particular aspects of deregulation in broadcasting (De Jong & Bates, 1991; Chambers & Bates, 1992; Bates & Chambers, 1999). Few studies, however, have examined cable TV. Even though these studies have provided some support for both proponents and opponents of deregulation, general conclusions were limited since each study focused on a single issue, or offered a limited examination of evidence.

In one of the few empirical studies on the topic, De Jong and Bates (1991) demonstrated that both absolute and relative channel diversity increased from 1976 to 1986. The growth in relative diversity, however, was smaller than the increase in absolute diversity. This suggested that part of the growth in the number of different channels available to consumers was due to an expansion in the channel capacity of cable systems. They pointed out that the growth in relative diversity was substantially less than that of the number of channels, and the relative and absolute diversity measures indicated that the average cable system offered less than half of its potential for diversity. They concluded that channel diversity has increased, but was still rather low relative to its full potential.

Chamber and Bates (1992) examined the assumption of effective competition in the radio market. The results of these studies cast doubts on the absolute validity of the presumption of sufficient and effective competition in broadcasting. According to Bates & Chambers (1999), increased concentration did raise doubts about the viability of considering radio markets as instances of monopolistic competition rather than oligopolies because the marketplace model (where the industry would rely on market forces to determine the public interest) works only if there is competition. In other words, the hallmark of the 1996 Act, which is intended to serve the public interest through promoting the program diversity in broadcast media, can be achieved only if there is sufficient competition. However, it appears that competition is seemingly active, the short-term impact of the 1996 Act seems to have been an increase in concentration, cross-media ownership, and vertical integration.

Relationship Between Economic Factors and Diversity

Several studies attempted to find the relationship between economic factors and program diversity, the results were also somewhat contradictory. Several researchers found that competition or increasing the number of channels promoted program diversity

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(Land, 1968, Levin, 1971, Litman, 1979, Grant, 1994) whereas others found the opposite results (Noll, Peck and McGowan, 1973, Lin, 1995)

Levin (1971) related program diversity to the change in the market structure within local TV markets. He utilized a diversity index first developed by Herman Land and Associates (1968) which stressed program ratings as the determinant of program types. Land (1968) had discovered that as the number of commercial stations rose in a local market from one to six, the diversity index rose by 20%, at a declining rate with each successive station. These results were confirmed by Levin's comparable study of 88 markets and 279 stations.

Noll, Peck and McGowan (1973) defined diversity in three programming dimensions: the number of options, diversity by program types and program tone where tone referred to the social effect of program content and the objectivity of public affairs and news programs. They discovered that a new station entry did not automatically guarantee greater diversity because of the tendency of advertiser supported broadcast stations to maximize audience size by duplicating popular program types rather than experiment with different program categories.

Owen, Beebe and Manning (1974) demonstrated that diversity was functionally related to market structure (and especially competition), technological factors affecting the number of available channels, and the financing method of generating revenues. This theoretical work was later confirmed and extended by Spence and Owen (1977) and Wildman and Owen (1985).

Litman (1979) attempted to confirm the robustness of the Dominick and Pearce (1976) research by examining a period of time when the network cartel appeared to be

unstable due to a flurry of competitive action, triggered by a sudden shift in market shares among the industry leaders during the 1975-76 program season. He found a dramatic fall in program concentration (greater diversity) during the four-year period following the upheaval.

Grant (1994) examined the program diversity of basic cable, superstations (TBS, WGN e.g.), pay cable, and broadcast networks, using a 16-day sample of 41 broadcast and cable networks. He found that the average diversity of program types decreased, and the diversity across those channel types increased as the number of channels increased. Lin (1995) found that even in the competitive video marketplace of the 1980s, shifts in program diversity were rather limited. She concluded that the theory that alternative video competition encourages network program diversity was not supported.

Studies in Other Media

Greco (1999) explored the impact of horizontal mergers and acquisitions on corporate concentration in the U.S. book publishing industry during 1989-1994. The principal arguments regarding the creation of a media monopoly are outlined, using the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index to investigate whether Department of Justice antitrust guidelines were violated. He contended that concerns about the diversity have been minimized because of other media outlets.

Wanta and Johnson (1994) examined the content changes in newspaper industry. They investigated how competition affected the content of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* during a declining state of competition, monopoly, the reemergence of competition, and return to monopoly. They found that competition is only one variable that explains

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changes in content, asserting that some content changes found appear to represent trends rather than responses to competition.

In the motion picture area, Dominick (1987) studied 1898 films released during the period of 1964-83. The results showed some fluctuations in the trends for content concentration and year to year stability but only minor fluctuations in the Homogeneity Index. He found that there were positive correlation between market power and concentration of film genres, thus supporting the hypothesis regarding the impact of economic factors on program content.

Research Questions

One of the primary goals of communications policy has been to encourage media diversity, however, few studies have examined the effectiveness of the policy on diversity in cable TV. Although some research found that governmental regulation of media systems is necessary in order to encourage competition and diversification, others found quite the opposite.

The potential channel capacity of cable TV is almost unlimited, so it is believed that program diversity is more appropriate than channel diversity in order to efficiently measure the impact of deregulation. Therefore, this study focuses on the program diversity rather than channel diversity. Next, this study focuses on examining the relationship among governmental policy and economic factor (competition), and program diversity.

Previous studies did not provide compelling evidence that strongly support the impact of competition on program diversity concerning the economic factor. One study (De Jong & Bates, 1991) investigated only channel diversity to examine the impact of

policy among three periods: high (1976), moderate (1981), and no regulation (1986). Lee (1995) factored in the degree of both policy and competition. He found that moderate regulatory policy with a low competition among channels can be a proper environment for maintaining the highest level of channel and program diversity. This study is a partial replication of the previous studies, including more recent time period.

This study attempts to explore the following research problems:

1) How much program diversity has cable TV provided during the regulatory period (1992 to 1995) and deregulatory period (1996 up to the present)?

2) Has there been more program diversity in the number of program types before or after the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996?

3) Which factor between governmental policy and competition is more associated with program diversity?

Method

In order to measure the degree of diversity, several alternative terms and measures have been proposed. For instance, channel diversity (De Jong & Bates, 1991), diversity in content and form (Roof, Trauth & Huffman, 1993), program (or programming) diversity (Levin, 1971; Dominick & Pearce, 1976; Owen, 1977; Litman, 1979, 1992), and program variety (Wakshlag & Adams, 1985) have been used. As to how diversity should be defined, McQuail (1992) categorized diversity in three ways (1) diversity reflecting differences in society (2) diversity giving access to different points of view, and (3) diversity offering a wide range of choice (p. 144).

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This study adopted McQuail's (1992) third dimension of diversity-diversity as choice and examined program diversity as the operational measure for diversity. Thus, diversity is defined as the degree of program choice available to the viewer from all channels of a given type (Grant, 1994). In addition, the study measured both vertical diversity and horizontal diversity that Levin (1971) and Litman (1979) posited. While vertical diversity is a measure of the degree of the variation within the program schedule of a specific channel, horizontal diversity provides a measure of the number of options available to the viewer at any given time (Grant, 1994). This study coded basic cable channels. Among basic channels, five general channels and five special channels were selected, which was done in a previous study by Litman, Hasegawa, Shrikhande & Barbatsis (1994). The five selected general channels are broadly targeted channels: A&E, Family, Lifetime, TNT and TBS. The other five selected special channels are more narrowly targeted channels: CNN, DISC, ESPN, MTV, and NICK.

Program diversity was examined during the aforementioned two periods using content analysis. This study used Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI)[1] of concentration, which was proven as a robust measure in previous studies (Litman et al., 1994; Lin, 1995).

Horizontal diversity was measured by counting the number of available different program types during each 30-minute time slot, which was also done in previous studies (Levin, 1980; Litman, 1979). Program diversity of basic channels during the central prime

[1] Herfindahl-Hirschman Index is calculated by 1) summing squares of time share of each program category, or by 2) summing squares of the probability of each program category to be listed. The formula is as follows: $HHI = \sum Pi^2$
where Pi = Ratio of time for program type i to total time for programming (Kambara, 1992, p. 197)
Or = Probability of program type i to be included on the program listing (Grant, 1994, p. 58). This index has a possible maximum value of 1.0 when only one program type is carried over the time period. Thus, the index is inversely related to diversity, which means the higher the value of this index, the more popular the program types and the lower the diversity.

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time (6 p.m. to 10 p.m.) was measured through the TV Guide Evansville-Paducah Edition, covering the whole programming schedule on television stations and cable operators in Southern Indiana, Western Kentucky, and Southern Illinois, issued from 1992 to 1999. Two-week weekday samples in every seasonal period (January to March, April to June, July to September, and October to December) was collected based on constructed week sampling methods. The total number of weeks were 64 weeks (8 weeks times 8 years). Among the selected sample, days from Saturday through Wednesday were coded in each week to include the programs of weekdays as well as weekends. Therefore, the total number of days that were coded amounted to 320 (5 days times 64 weeks).

The subjective choice of the number of program categories and their appropriateness can influence the result of diversity measurement (Litman et al., 1994). This study chose sixteen program types similar to those Litman et al. (1994) adopted. Litman (1992) suggested that twelve to twenty-four program categories are reasonable on his categorization,[2] and on the popularity of prime-time programs (Eastman, Head, & Klein, 1988; Head & Sterling, 1990). To help correctly identify each program, several reference books were used.[3]

Definitions and examples of these program categories are as follows:

[2] Litman (1992) suggested that the number of categories must not be so large as to suggest that no programs are similar yet so few that they average together and hide significantly different kinds of programs.

[3] Terrace, V. (1976). The Complete Encyclopedia of Television Programs, 1947-1976. San Diego, CA: Barnes. Terrace, V. (1981). Television, 1970-1980. San Diego, CA: Barnes, and Brown, L. (1992). Les Brown's Encyclopedia of Television. New York, New York: Zoetrope.

Definitions of Program Categories

1 Art/Music/Culture (Entertainment) Popular artistic and cultural programs to entertain viewers, such as music video programs by pop musicians

2 Art/Music/Culture (Non-Entertainment) Programs about introducing or describing pure and aesthetic arts and culture, such as classical music

3 Children/Cartoon (Entertainment) Programs made for children's (below the age of eighteen) entertainment, such as cartoons where robots and animals star

4 Children/Cartoon (Non-Entertainment) Programs made for educating or instructing children (below the age of eighteen). For instance, those programs designed to teach children something

5 Documentary/Educational/Instructional Programs devoted to systematically describing, explaining, and instructing things, facts, and characters of interest, such as exploring programs about an animal's life on Discovery channel

6 Drama Regularly scheduled, continuing, or non-continuing storylines, such as soap operas and series

7 Game Programs in which contestants answer questions in order to win prizes and rewards

8 Movie All kinds of motion pictures that were released for theaters or made for television

9 News/Information Timely, short reports of stories on current events and affairs, including regular evening news, financial reports, and weather reports

10 Public Affairs/News Magazine (Entertainment) Programs of current events with in-depth reports and discussions for entertaining purposes, such as sensational reports about celebrities

11 Public Affairs/News Magazine (Non-Entertainment) Programs of current events with in-depth reports and discussions for non-entertaining purposes, such as panel discussions about diplomatic and economic relations with other countries

12 Religions Programs broadcasting worship services, preachers, and gospel music

13 Situation Comedy Regularly scheduled comedy programs with a different episode per schedule

14 Sports Live and recorded sports events, including commentary, interviews or previews of upcoming events

15 Talk Show/Variety Show Soft and entertaining programs with a host talking about current and human events by inviting a few guests, who are mostly celebrities and public figures and sometimes show their unique performances, such as singing and dancing

16 Others All the other programs not included in above categories

Furthermore, while viewing the relationship among policy, competition and program diversity, first, the policy factor as an independent variable was divided into two time periods, representing different degrees of governmental policy such as strong (1992-1995) and weak regulations (1996-1999). This variable was treated as an interval variable

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in regression analysis of this study and as a categorical variable in a t-test. Second, while measuring competition level, the number of over-the-air channels, basic cable channels, and special cable channels (premium channels) were counted. These data were also gathered from TV Guide Evansville-Paducah Edition. This variable was treated as a ratio variable in regression analysis.

The data were analyzed using independent sample t-test to compare the diversity between the two time periods. Multiple regression analyses were conducted to investigate the relationship between two independent variables (regulation and competition) and program diversity (vertical and horizontal diversity). A .05 level of significance was set. Also, the average of vertical and horizontal diversity was calculated.

One-day coded items from each year were randomly selected to calculate intercoder reliability. Ten percent of the samples were then coded by a second trained coder to determine the level of intercoder reliability. The result of vertical diversity and horizontal diversity was 85% and 84%, respectively.

Results

What follows is the average of vertical and horizontal diversity each year from 1992 to 1999. Table 1 details the vertical program diversity each year. Although there is no significant trend within each of the two periods, all the mean scores of the regulatory periods (1992-1995) are lower than those of the deregulatory period (1996-1999). That is, more diversity is present during the regulatory period than the deregulatory period. It shows that there is little difference during the regulatory period, which means ranging from the means of 0.530 to 0.582, but some increase exists during the deregulatory

period. Especially the year of 1998 indicates the highest mean vertical program diversity value (0.661) and the second highest is the year of 1999 (0.652), which shows less diversity than the others. The year of 1994 has the lowest mean vertical program diversity value (0.530), which means this year has more vertical program diversity than the others. The year of 1995 has the second lowest value (0.539).

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Vertical Program Diversity By Year

Year	Mean	Standard Deviation
1992	0.582	0.034
1993	0.556	0.034
1994	0.530	0.028
1995	0.539	0.029
1996	0.620	0.054
1997	0.596	0.137
1998	0.661	0.058
1999	0.652	0.075

Table 2 shows horizontal program diversity each year. It shows that there is no real trend within each of the two periods. It appears that horizontal program diversity remains relatively more consistent than its vertical counterpart during the period (1992-1999), ranging mean scores from 6.966 to 7.421. It is noteworthy, however, that the year of 1999 has the lowest mean horizontal diversity value (6.966), which means it has the least diversity. On the other hand, the year of 1995, which was the year before the

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Telecommunications Act, has the highest mean horizontal value (7.421). This indicates a great diversity.

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations of Horizontal Program Diversity By Year

Year	Mean	Standard Deviation
1992	7.206	0.371
1993	7.136	0.317
1994	7.283	0.312
1995	7.421	0.370
1996	7.270	0.310
1997	7.280	0.367
1998	7.200	0.330
1999	6.966	0.447

Table 3 is a summary of t-tests for finding mean differences in the vertical program diversity during the two time periods. It indicates that scores of deregulatory period are higher, which means less program diversity for individual networks. The t-value is significantly high at the level of .05. The t-score is 15.493 (df = 318, p < .000). It indicates that there is a significant mean difference between the regulatory period and the deregulatory period. The vertical program diversity of the regulatory period has a mean score of 0.551, while that of deregulatory period has 0.640.

Table 3. Independent Sample t-test for Vertical Program Diversity

Means and Paired Sample t-scores	Vertical Program Diversity
Regulation (1992-1995)	0.551
Deregulation (1995-1996)	0.640
N	320
t-score	15.493
df	318
p	0.000

Table 4 is a summary of t-tests for finding mean differences of the horizontal program diversity during the two time periods. There were no significant differences between the two time periods. The t-value is not significantly higher at the level of .05 (t = -1.260, df = 318, p < 0.208). Nevertheless, the mean horizontal program diversity value of the regulatory period (7.233) is slightly higher than the mean horizontal program diversity value of the deregulatory period (7.181).

Table 4. Independent Sample t-test for Horizontal Program Diversity

Means and Paired Sample t-scores	Horizontal Program Diversity
Regulation (1992-1995)	7.233
Deregulation (1995-1996)	7.181
N	318
t-score	-1.260

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df	318
p	0 208

Table 5 is the result of regression of the independent variables on the vertical diversity. The total variance accounted for by two independent variables was significant (R Square = .438, F = 123 81, df = 2 317, p < .001). That is, policy and competition explains the vertical diversity by approximately 44%. It is concluded that between the two variables, policy factor (Beta = - 49, t = -6 74, p < .001) explains more than competition factor (Beta = - 19, t = 2 72, p < .001).

Table 5 Multiple Regression on Vertical Diversity

		Analysis of Variance	DF	Sum of Squares
Multiple R	662			
R Square	438			
Adjusted R Square	435	Regression	2	638
		Residual	317	817
		F = 123 81	Sig F =	0000

Variables in the Equation

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Part Cor	Partial	Sig T
Regulation	- 0661	0098	- 4906	- 2838	3543	0000
Competition	0041	0015	1981	1146	1513	0068

Table 6 is the result of regression of the independent variables on the horizontal diversity. The total variance accounted for by two independent variables was significant (R

Square = .0494, F = 8 236, df = 2 317, p < .001). It means that policy and competition explains the horizontal diversity by 4%. However, two factors were much less associated with horizontal diversity compared to vertical diversity. Also, between the two variables, only competition factor was significant, and competition factor (Beta = - 29, t = -3 16, p < .001) more explains than policy factor (Beta = - 10, t = -1 1, p < .001) in this case.

Table 6 Multiple Regression on Horizontal Diversity

		Analysis of Variance	DF	Sum of Squares
Multiple R	222			
R Square	049			
Adjusted R Square	043	Regression	2	2 157
		Residual	317	41 52
		F = 8 236	Sig F =	0003

Variables in the Equation

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Part Cor	Partial	Sig T
Regulation	- 0774	0699	- 1047	- 0606	0620	2691
Competition	- 0343	0108	- 2992	1731	1748	0017

Discussion

This study examined the effects of governmental policy and competition on program diversity in cable TV between a strong regulation period and a deregulatory period in which governmental policy has substantially affected the U S. cable TV industry. This study provides a more recent example than the previous investigations

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There is little doubt viewers today are enjoying more diverse program choices than ever, considering increased channel capacity and other media outlets. Overall, cable TV appears to be providing a consistent level of program diversity viewing from the results. The results of this study, however, suggest that deregulation has not increased diversity as intended. This study further suggests that diversity has declined within various channels (vertical program diversity) as well as across cable networks (horizontal diversity), although only vertical program diversity between the aforementioned two periods was statistically significant. With respect to the relationship or association among governmental policy, competition, and program diversity, it seems to work differently for vertical and horizontal diversity.

The results demonstrate that it is important to include horizontal diversity as well as vertical diversity in measuring program diversity because they are conceptually different. In this sense, the finding supports that the previous study of Grant (1994) which found that there was no significant relationship between horizontal diversity and average vertical diversity. This also appears consistent with past work (Dominick & Pearce, 1976) that found programming underwent gradual cycles of change, and the dominant program genres was relatively stable, although their study did not deal with cable TV. In addition, the results partly support the finding of Lee (1995) which concluded that moderate regulation contributed to promoting program diversity rather than weak regulation. However, in respect to the relationship among policy, competition, and diversity, this study only partly supported the previous finding. That is, a policy factor turned out to be a more powerful variable than competition that can explain the vertical program diversity, while the competition factor was more associated with horizontal diversity.

Litman (1992) pointed out that the horizontal diversity facilitated an assessment of how a particular medium or all media are simultaneously performing, while the vertical diversity could facilitate judgements of either individual organizations or groups of organizations. Horizontal diversity was developed based on the notion of giving viewers various program choices within a given time period. Thus, if each channel emphasizes one specific type of program, horizontal diversity can be developed despite the fact that there is no vertical diversity of programs within one channel. In this respect, the result of this study demonstrates that a cable network becomes more specialized, developing one specific type of program, while viewers have been enjoying a wide variety of program choices within a given time period. This trend can usually take place especially when channel capacity of cable system is increased. The reason why horizontal diversity remains relatively consistent and less fluctuated can stem from overall program replication, counter programming, and a tendency to appeal with the many forms of the least common denominator programming, similar to conventional broadcasting networks in the cable TV industry.

Overall, governmental policy and competition might be one of several factors such as market structure, financial system of each cable program provider, ownership, and audience factors like ratings that can affect the program diversity. In this sense, it would be difficult to develop an overarching theory to predict the most critical factor affecting the level of program diversity. However, the results of this study suggests that the deregulation policy is not working in increasing the program diversity in U.S. cable TV at this point, although the judgment in deciding the outcome of governmental policy may take more time.

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Limitations and Suggestions

Basically, diversity maybe an elusive concept to measure, although this study attempted to measure program diversity by using sixteen program types which was employed in several previous studies. Further, it may be more controversial to determine how much program diversity would be sufficient.

The time span of governmental policy that was compared between the regulatory period and the deregulatory period in this study could be extended by including periods before and after the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984, in order to reflect more levels of regulatory or deregulatory periods. Also, it is apparently necessary to factor in inter-media competition that includes competition with other media outlets such as satellite broadcasting and internet TV which is rapidly increasing as well as within cable networks to get a clearer picture of relationship among the three factors (policy, competition and diversity).

Program diversity as well as channel diversity can be more or less affected by a channel capacity of each cable system operator and by the authority of a local government which grants a franchise despite the fact that federal policy oversees cable industry. In addition, more possible regulatory deregulatory factors such as the legislation of new acts that may affect the degree of regulation or deregulation may be considered as variables.

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